00021381

00021381

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 15 October, 2018

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

OF THE

FIRST DUKE OF WELLINGTON

Engr. by J. J. Wallington.

Yours truly
G. R. Gray

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

OF THE

FIRST DUKE OF WELLINGTON

WITH SKETCHES OF
SOME OF HIS GUESTS AND CONTEMPORARIES

BY

THE LATE
GEORGE ROBERT GLEIG, M.A.
CHAPLAIN-GENERAL TO HER MAJESTY'S FORCES, ETC., ETC.
AUTHOR OF 'THE SUBALTERN'

21381
ac

EDITED BY
HIS DAUGHTER
MARY E. GLEIG

LIBRARY
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MCMIV

All Rights reserved

21381

DEDICATION.

DEAR DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

It is with the greatest pleasure that, with your permission, I dedicate to you my father's reminiscences of the intimacy with which your illustrious grandfather honoured him.

They were written when my father's mind was as clear and his pen as vigorous as at any period of his life, although he was verging upon his ninetieth year; and they are published now as they were written, with the exception of one or two sentences and certain names which it appeared desirable to suppress.

That you have been so kind as to read the proofs and give me your opinion on some points on which I greatly felt the need of help, affords me a very

confident hope that what it was such a labour of love to my father to record, and to myself to edit, will prove not unacceptable to the general public.

The only directions left by my father were that his reminiscences were not to see the light for several years—Eighteen have now elapsed since he began to write these.

With many thanks for the trouble and interest you have taken in the book,

Believe me,

DEAR DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

Sincerely yours,

MARY E. GLEIG.

HAMPTON COURT PALACE,
April 1904.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

His military genius—As a party leader—Dislike of domestic politics—Admiration of the old constitution—His relations with his colleagues—Roman Catholic Relief Act—Mistakes in policy 1

BOOK I.

CONFIDENCES.

CHAPTER I.

With the Peninsular Army—Introduction through 'The Subaltern'—A projected biography—Sir Thomas Munro—First visit to Walmer—Offer of a Crown-living . . . 19

CHAPTER II.

Agricultural distress in 1830—Machine-breaking at Ash—Incendiarism at Ash—The Duke and Sir Robert Peel—The Duke and Palmerston—The Duke and Huskisson . . 32

CHAPTER III.

Political situation, 1830—Fall of the Duke's Administration . 45

CHAPTER IV.

Parliamentary reform—The Reform Bill—Passage of the Bill—A scheme for a newspaper campaign—The Duke's contempt for the Press—His fear of reform—A suggested compromise—The Duke's answer 50

CHAPTER V.

The dissolution of 1831—The Duke on the crisis—Sir Edward Knatchbull—The military and politics—The House of Lords and the Bill—A confidential letter—Question of petitions 71

CHAPTER VI.

A suggestion from 'Blackwood'—The Duke's confidence—'The Morning Herald'—The Duke threatened—Lord Harrowby—Lord Douro—The Duke on George IV.—Dinner table-talk 93

CHAPTER VII.

Lord John Russell's offer—A personal explanation—The incident closed—Farewell to Ash—End of "confidences" . 110

BOOK II.

OF THE DUKE'S PLACES OF RESIDENCE, AND SOME OF THOSE WHO VISITED HIM.

CHAPTER I.

The nation's gift—Stratfieldsaye—The Rector of Stratfieldsaye—The Curate of Stratfieldsaye—A case of pluralities—Walmer Castle—The Cinque Ports—His life at Walmer 123

CHAPTER II.

THE DUKE'S FOREIGN GUESTS.

Talleyrand—The Duchess of Cumberland—The blind King of Hanover—Prussia and Hanover—General Alava—General Nugent—The Duke's little joke 141

CHAPTER III.

THE DUKE'S GUESTS—"DII MAJORUM GENTIUM."

Lord Lyndhurst—Sir Robert Peel 161

CHAPTER IV.

"DII MINORUM GENTIUM."

Charles Arbuthnot—Mrs Arbuthnot—John Wilson Croker—Lord Clanwilliam—The Marquis of Salisbury . . 198

CHAPTER V.

"DII MINORUM GENTIUM"—*continued.*

"Dirty" Charlie—Sir Robert Wilson—"Billy" Holmes—"Chin Grant"—Lord Carrington—Billy Holmes' joke—Lady Stanhope 251

BOOK III.

THE DUKE IN HIS DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

Lady Catharine Pakenham—The Duchess of Wellington—An unfounded belief—Students' escapade—The Duke's sons . 271

CHAPTER II.

SOME OF THE DUKE'S SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS.

His love of music—His love of hunting—A memorable drive —Major Todd—Colonel Gurwood—Lord Charles Wellesley —Chancellor of Oxford University—His aristocratic views —Relations with the army—His temper—As army reformer—Opposed to short service—Ambassador in Paris —His view of Napoleon—And of Marlborough—The Government of the Regency—His aid to Napier—A characteristic trait—His secretiveness—His self-possession—His gentleness—His good fortune in battle—His memory—A stickler for etiquette—His views on army education—His last years—The aged warrior—The Baroness Burdett-Coutts—Epileptic fits—His death 282

APPENDIX.

MEMORANDUM ON THE WAR IN RUSSIA IN 1812 . . 344

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF THE FIRST DUKE OF WELLINGTON

INTRODUCTION

It is not my purpose in the following pages to speak of the Duke at length as either a soldier or a statesman. In both capacities the world has judged him very fairly. I don't think the continental writers do his genius as a military commander full justice, nor can we be surprised at the circumstance. Their military systems are so different from ours that they cannot see the force of events which constrained him in making war to exercise the quality of prudence to an extent which would have been in the case of some of their leaders quite blameworthy. They forget that while they raise their armies by conscription, we depend for recruits on voluntary enlistment, and that the loss of a few thousand men in a battle, even if it went in his favour, might cripple a British general throughout the remainder of the campaign. In his Indian wars, when no such incubus lay upon him, the Duke exhibited as much of dash as the most apt scholar in the school of Napoleon could desire. But when he came to

operate against the French, in the Peninsula, he soon found that caution was more necessary than enterprise, because the Spaniards were worthless except in guerilla warfare, and hardly to the last could the Portuguese be relied upon. Hence thirty thousand or forty thousand British troops—and he never but once had more than forty thousand in hand—were the backbone of his strength, and he was obliged to nurse and spare them, because of the difficulty of supplying the places of such as might be destroyed. Napoleon fully understood this, for among his instructions to his marshals in Spain one was frequently repeated: "Force Wellington to fight on every possible occasion. Win if you can, but lose a battle rather than deliver none. We can afford to expend three men for every one he loses, and you will thus wear him out in the end."

Was not this President Lincoln's policy during the great Civil War in America: "Peg away, and wear them out"? I have heard that the Duke was taken to a phrenologist on a certain occasion, who examined his head, and not knowing who was under his fingers, pronounced that he had never found before in man so large a development of the organ of caution.

The Duke's military excellence was the veritable inspiration of genius. He had received no scientific, scarcely any tactical education, but he possessed a wonderful power of grasping quickly whatever problem was submitted to him—a marvellous eye for

country, and an extraordinary faculty for calculation. He served with both the infantry and the cavalry as a regimental officer, yet scarcely long enough with either to acquire by process of routine what ordinary men take in after constant practice. In spite of this drawback, however, caused by his serving a good deal on the staff, he proved, when put in command of the 33rd Regiment, one of the best drills, and most efficient commanding-officers in the Army. He knew likewise as if by intuition what men could both dare and do, how much they could endure of privations and fatigue, and never, except in the last extremity, overworked his troops. Even the retreat from Burgos, though it called forth loud complaints both in and out of the Army, was conducted without excessive suffering. I was much struck with his criticisms on various military commanders, both domestic and foreign, especially with reference to what they lost for lack of well considering these points. To Sir John Moore, for example, he gave full credit for talent as well as bravery: "but his defect was, that he did not know what his men could do." He thought highly of the Archduke Charles of Austria, both as a leader of armies and a military writer; "but," speaking of him in the latter capacity, he added, "he forgot that men are not mere machines, one as good as another, and that a plan of action which would be perfectly justifiable in an officer commanding English troops, might be the reverse

in one commanding Austrians or Prussians." Jomini's great work he had by heart, but he criticised it, just as he did the Archduke Charles. "The theory is correct throughout except on an important point in tactics. His preference of columns of attack, to lines, is a great error. Columns cannot fight, they are only formations of manœuvre. But excellent as his strategical lessons may be, the commander of an army who considers himself bound to adhere strictly to the principles there laid down may find himself beaten by a less learned and more enterprising opponent." What he thought of Napoleon will be told by and by.

It is a curious fact that he, who, at mature age, earned so proud a name, both as a leader of Armies and a Statesman, should have been in boyhood remarkable for his indolence. A letter from his mother, Lady Mornington, still exists, in which, speaking of her sons, she says: "They are all, I think, endowed with excellent abilities except Arthur, and he would probably not be wanting, if only there was more of energy in his nature; but he is so wanting in this respect, that I really do not know what to do with him." That his first start in life bore out Lady Mornington's appreciation of his temperament there can be no doubt. He made no figure at Eton, and seems to have been as little conspicuous at Angers.[1] And even after joining the

[1] "I should be glad, if I possessed the requisite information, to give some account of the Duke's manner of life while a pupil in the military

Army and becoming aide-de-camp to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he appears to have lived a rather dreamy and solitary life. Doubtless it was for this reason that he never of his own accord alluded in conversation to his schoolboy days, and always, if by chance a reference happened to be made to them, changed the subject. Yet how entirely those were mistaken, who anticipated for the indolent boy an obscure manhood, the lapse of a few years made manifest.

As a constitutional politician, meaning thereby a skilful party leader in a free state, the Duke cannot be placed in the foremost rank. He had grown up under the shadow of the first French Revolution, and entertained an exaggerated dread of the Democracy. Yet his perceptions of what was best for Europe and for England at the close of the great war were clear and just. He deprecated and prevented the dismemberment of France in 1815, because he foresaw that such a measure, while it weakened one Power, might lead to endless complica-

school at Angers. If any memorials of him were ever established there, the avalanche of the first French Revolution must have swept them all away. But none would appear to have been set up. His early friends, of whom not one now survives, used indeed to say that he made better use of his time at Angers than he had done either at Chelsea or Eton, and he himself stated that he formed some agreeable acquaintances in the neighbourhood, from whom he learned to speak French with the accent and precision of the days of the old monarchy. But here our materials for narrative fail us. We know nothing more than that he pursued his studies at Angers for about a year and a half or two years, and then returned home."—*The Life of Arthur, Duke of Wellington, by G. R. Gleig.*

tions among the rest. He regarded Russia with great suspicion, which subsequent events have shown to be well founded. He would have been glad to see parliamentary institutions introduced into Spain and Portugal, but entirely disapproved of England going to war in order to force them upon these countries. Of the breach of their promises to their subjects by the continental sovereigns he always spoke with regret and censure, but he had no sympathy with secret societies or popular insurrections. He was anxious to avoid all interference in the quarrel between the Spanish American Colonies and the mother country, except so far as this must be done by recognising for commercial purposes the *de facto* government in each. In a word, his view of the policy of England in her relations with foreign states was in substance this: that she should stand aloof from the intestine strifes of all, taking no part either with the sovereigns against the peoples or with the peoples against the sovereigns except when invited to mediate: and then doing what was possible to bring about an equitable compromise. He would neither join the Holy Alliance, nor give the smallest countenance to Carbonarism or Freemasonry.

The Duke was dragged against his will into taking a prominent part in domestic politics. He detested them, not only because the whole course of his active life had carried him, so to speak, outside their sphere, but because the shifts and devices,

not always either creditable or honest, to which party leaders are driven, were to him peculiarly distasteful. It was Canning's readiness to fall back upon these, whenever he had a point to carry, and his consequent coquetting with the leaders of the Opposition, which quite as much as his strong personal ambition alienated the Duke from him. No doubt these peculiarities of temperament were the main cause of the serious mistakes into which as Prime Minister he fell. Yet it is impossible not to recognise the beauty of those moral qualities which, worthy of all admiration in the man, rendered him incapable of ever becoming the successful administrator of the affairs of a country jealous of its liberties, and prone, as all popularly governed countries are, to be cajoled into clamouring for whatever adroit flatterers lead them to regard as conducive to their welfare.

Strange as it may appear and unpleasant as the statement may be to read, the Duke as a politician held in contempt what is called principle. His theory was that the obvious needs of the times and of the nation suggest the course which, from year to year, the Government ought to follow. The settlement of 1688 he held in high respect because the civil and religious liberties of the people were assured by it, but he no more considered it to be the duty of statesmen to maintain it to the letter *in secula seculorum*, than it was their duty to resist the repeal of any law which

had become obsolete and therefore mischievous. This was shown in rather a curious way after dinner one day, as early I think as 1824, at which among other guests two clergymen were present. The incident, as related to me by his son, the late Duke, occurred at Strathfieldsaye, when a lady asked him what he thought of the laws affecting Roman Catholics. He replied almost in these words: "The laws against Roman Catholics were passed at a time when the Protestant Church of England stood in need of protection. Whenever the Protestant Church is strong enough to stand without them, they will be repealed, and ought to be repealed."

On the other hand, the Duke had a perfect horror of everything that savoured of bad faith between man and man sitting in the same Cabinet. Canning, as has just been shown, he always distrusted, not only because of his backstairs connection with the Whigs, but also on account of a shifty method which he had of conducting the correspondence of the Foreign Office. Some one happened to speak in his presence of Canning as obstinate and unyielding. "Unyielding!" was the Duke's answer. "I never knew a public man so pliable. We saw all the drafts of his more important letters, of course, and made our remarks on them. He never took offence, but on the contrary expressed himself obliged by the pains that were taken to improve them; yet it invariably happened,

somehow or another, that when sealed and sent off, they reiterated almost all the sentiments to which we had objected. The fact is, that while the annotated copy passed into the archives of the Foreign Office, the finished production expressed, though in somewhat different language, Canning's own views just as he had originally submitted them to us. Canning might be obstinate, but he was certainly not unyielding."

When I speak of the Duke as holding light what Lord Eldon, and statesmen of his class, regarded as principle, I refer only to political arrangements which, however suitable they may have been to the condition of the country when entered into, made it next to impossible, under a total change of circumstances, to carry on the Government. The settlement of the Crown in the Protestant line he held to be essential to the maintenance of a Protestant Constitution. Penal laws, which excluded from Parliament, and from holding office under the Crown, Romanists and Dissenters from the Established Church, he regarded as evils which, as soon as they ceased to be necessary, ought to be got rid of. The case was otherwise with regard to arrangements on which the very constitution of society, according to his view of the matter, depended. England was the happiest and most prosperous nation in the world because all real power was vested in the aristocracy. Hence his admiration of the old constitution as it existed

prior to the first Reform Act. Hence his partiality for the Corn Laws, without which he did not see how the great landed proprietors would be able to hold their own against a powerful democracy. But apart from this one point, the Duke was a free trader, long before either Huskisson or Peel began their attacks on the system of protection to British industry.

Holding these views, and actuated by the same high motives which carried Falkland into the royal camp in 1642, the Duke took office, with a mind fully made up to conduct the Government for the sake not of party but of the country. It has been charged against him and not without some show of reason, that his doing so was inconsistent with his own express views of what the specialities of the Prime Minister in a constitutional country ought to be. To a certain extent this is true. He did declare in the House of Lords, when explaining why he had refused to support Canning, that he was fully conscious of his own unfitness to become the head of an administration; and from that opinion he never deviated, either when in office or out of it. But with him the principle of loyalty was carried to an extreme, and when the King told him in plain terms that, unless he consented to form an administration, the Government could not be carried on, he felt or believed that there was but one course for him to follow. Even then, however, as the published correspondence shows, he made an

effort to put Peel in the foremost place. It failed, and nothing remained except to dare the worst. And the worst was in truth as formidable as it could well be. The old Tory party was already broken up. The Whigs had shown themselves incapable of forming an administration, and the Canningites with Robinson at their head were at their wits' end. Where was he to look for colleagues of whom a reasonable hope might be entertained that they would prove true to him and to one another?

We all know now whither he turned in search of colleagues, and the selection which he made ought to have prepared the country for the direction in which his views tended. He counted too much, however, on finding in others that unswerving loyalty to their chief which had ever been with himself a leading principle, and possibly his manner of setting forth his own views in Cabinet may have savoured a little of the tone of a Commander of the Forces explaining his plans. However this may be, we find in Lord Palmerston's published correspondence ample proof that Mr. Huskisson and his followers, including Lord Palmerston himself, took office, neither expecting nor perhaps desiring that the Duke's guidance would be to them agreeable. The miserable East Retford question only brought to a head jealousies that had long been festering, and showed that in the Duke's hands at least the work of creating a truly national party was not

to be achieved. It might have been better perhaps, both for his own reputation and for the Commonwealth, if under the peculiar circumstances he had either accepted Huskisson's explanation or himself relinquished the attempt to carry on the Government. But the Duke was not a man to withdraw from what he held to be the path of duty because it was beset with difficulties. He let it be known in Whig circles that the way was open to negotiations with Earl Grey and the more high-minded of the party. But meeting with no response, he fell back upon his own personal adherents. Of all that followed no detailed account need be given here. His measures, whether on a small scale or a large, failed to satisfy the people. Forgetting that the English are not, like the Spaniards, constitutionally temperate, he opened beer-shops all over the country, which, instead of breaking in upon the monopoly of the great brewers, served only to increase drunkenness and give a fresh stimulus to poaching. His foreign policy likewise was condemned as un-English, because it was based upon a strict adherence to treaties, and a resolute abstention from interference in the internal affairs of other countries. But the crowning offence of all was the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Act. That this measure of justice to a large portion of the King's subjects came too late, is certainly true. Had it been conceded in 1801, when Ireland merged her parliament into that of the United Kingdoms,

the condition of the sister country to-day would have been very different from what it is. Nay, had the arrangements with which the Duke proposed to surround it been carried into effect, it is probable that the Roman Catholic hierarchy would have been as manageable in Ireland, as it was at that time in Holland and in Prussia. But can any man in his senses deny that the passing of the measure in some shape or another had become in 1829 a necessity? I must not, however, in such a sketch as I propose to draw, run into the consideration of great questions of State. The angry Tories insisted at the time, if any of them survive they probably would insist still, that the Duke's duty, if unable to fight against destiny, was to resign; and, leaving the Whigs to carry what was in truth their own measure, to come back as the recognised leader of the English Protestants and govern with increased vigour. But surely this is to contradict both the facts of the case and the inferences to be drawn from them. The Duke did resign on the King's refusal to sanction the proposed measure. The Eldon section of the Tories declined to form a Government on Protestant principles, and the Whigs, had they been requested to steer the ship, which they were not because of the King's personal dislike to Earl Grey, would have certainly refused, knowing that they could not command a majority in either House. What was to be done? The Duke could not leave the King without a minister.

Peel would not consent to endow the Roman Catholic clergy. The only course left open was that which the Duke followed, and its consequences are familiar to us all.

It is not so easy to vindicate or even to palliate the next mistake which the Duke committed. Daniel O'Connell, as is well known, had been returned for the county of Clare, while yet the laws excluding Roman Catholics from Parliament were in force. He did not present himself to take his seat till the Relief Bill was passed. Technically, no doubt, his claim to be received as a member of the legislature was invalid, and the House had a right to do what it did, *i.e.* to send him back to his constituents for re-election. But everybody knew that his re-election was certain, and it was quite within the competency of the Government to make light of a mere technicality, and to throw open at once to the victor in the great struggle doors which could be closed against him only for a few days. O'Connell, though a demagogue, was not without generous impulses. It is quite upon the cards that such a concession to personal and Irish feeling might have stirred them to some good purpose. It is certain that the treatment which he received had no slight effect in making O'Connell what he afterwards became.

Worst, however, of all was the blunder into which the Duke fell, in his abrupt and uncalled-for declaration against parliamentary reform in any shape.

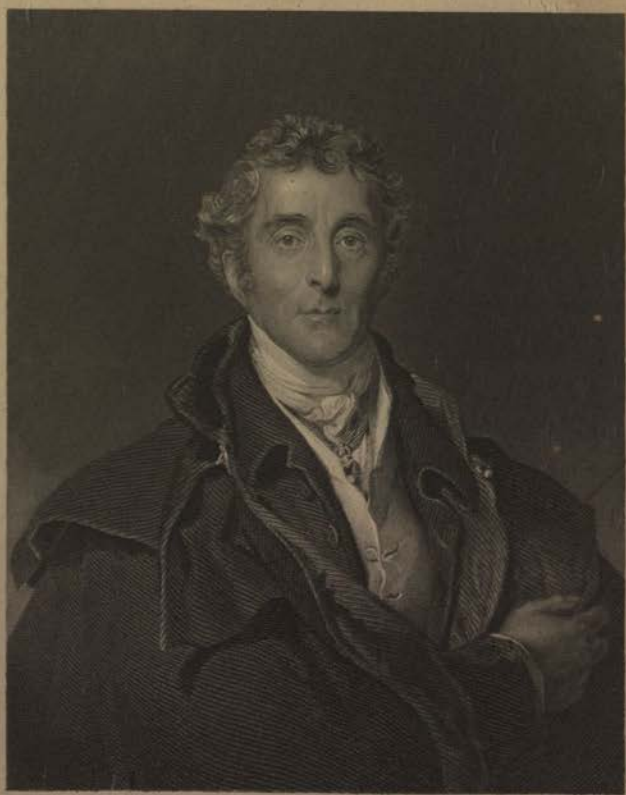
Had George IV. been still alive, and the Parliament which granted Emancipation still in existence, the announcement, though not very wise, might have been harmless, because with the exception of Lord Winchelsea in the House of Lords and Sir Edward Knatchbull and one or two others in the House of Commons, there were none among the exasperated ultra-Tories so insane as to pronounce in favour of farther constitutional changes. But to thrust it forward without any provocation in the face of a Parliament, in which he could not count on a majority, was a mistake as fatal in politics as a flank march in presence of a vigilant and superior enemy in war. Not one of the angry Tories was conciliated by it. They regarded it, on the contrary, as a sort of unprovoked defiance, and as men usually do when under the influence of blind fury, they sacrificed themselves, and all that they had fought for through life, by cheering the Whigs, when one after another they stood up to declaim against it.

On the whole, therefore, there is no denying that the great Duke's two years' tenure of office as First Lord of the Treasury added nothing to the glory which his eminent services in the field had ensured to him. I have often heard him say, that they were to himself the most unsatisfactory in the course of a long life—a life which he had no desire to live over again. But neither of his proceedings as a statesman, nor of his great deeds as a soldier, was

it my present purpose to speak. The little that has been put on record on these subjects must therefore be treated as nothing more than a necessary introduction to what follows.

BOOK I

CONFIDENCES



Sir Thos Lawrence, P.R.A. W. H. Egleton

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

PUBLISHED BY W. BLACKWOOD & SONS, EDINBURGH & LONDON

CHAPTER I

I SAW the Duke of Wellington for the first time in September 1813, when a movement among the French, on the other side of the Bidassoa, led to some changes of position among our own people. The 85th was winding its way in a long thin column by a sort of mule track along the side of a mountain towards the foundry of St. Antonio. Three horsemen overtook us, and stopped to converse with Colonel Thornton. One of these was the Duke (then Marquis) of Wellington; another, if I do not mistake, Lord Fitzroy Somerset; who the third was I don't know, but he may have been an Orderly Dragoon. There was no escort, nor any pomp or parade. The Duke was then forty-six years of age; his countenance was very animated; his keen, clear, violet-coloured eye full of intelligence. His hair was beginning to show the slightest tinge of grey, but not so much as to detract in the slightest degree from the youthfulness of his general appearance. He was dressed in a light grey frock-coat (he always wore grey when there was a chance of active work, the colour being more conspicuous from afar than blue), a cocked-hat, low in the crown, without a plume, and covered with oilskin. A pair of black

leather leggings, fastened at the sides, and reaching half-way up the calf, protected his legs; and he wore a light steel-mounted sabre, without any sash. He spoke kindly and cheerily to Colonel Thornton about the appearance of his regiment, asked where we were going, told him we should find some traces of the recent battles as we went along, and then getting off the track, so as not to inconvenience the line of march, trotted on.

My next vision of the great man was during one of the pauses in the battle of the Nive. The left of the army had been more or less engaged during four days, and the 85th was in line, lying down behind a screen of thin underwood, and waiting till the pickets which were engaged in our immediate front should be driven in. These were falling back, and Thornton, a fiery Irishman, had just shouted, "Now 85th, we 'll give them one volley, and charge them to hell," when a crowd of horsemen arrived in our rear, the Duke in his war-dress being conspicuous among them. It was then that he and Soult, from opposite ridges, gazed at one another, each trying to divine his rival's object. The Duke noticed the hurried departure of one of Soult's staff-officers towards our right; in other words, the French left. He had not dismounted, though Soult did; but turning his horse sharp round, said, in tones loud enough to be heard along our line, "Now lads, hold your own, for there is nothing behind you," and dashed away at full speed, followed

by his staff and escort, in the direction towards which the French mounted officer had gone.

After this I saw the Duke repeatedly in St. Jean de Luz, where the headquarters of the army were established during the winter. On one occasion, when we had marched three miles to the rear, in order to be present at a church parade, in the Grande Place of that town, he came in his blue frock-coat and plumed hat to attend the service. The congregation consisted of the brigade of Guards, of all the staff, and departmental people off duty, of our brigade, and a good many dismounted cavalry. Not one word of either prayers or sermon could I hear, the square being far too large for any human voice to embrace it. But the Duke was probably more fortunate, for he stood near the clergyman, and seemed to pay the most devout attention. This, by the way, was the only occasion on which I saw the face of a chaplain during my service in Spain and the South of France, and only once during the year spent in America did a chaplain officiate in my hearing.

The Duke's habits were very simple at this time, but I need not describe them here, having told the tale faithfully and fully in my memoir of the great man.

Thus far my acquaintance with the Duke was on a level with that of every soldier in the Peninsular army. I met him, indeed, more than once in the hunting-field, for he kept his hounds, and during the

winter months beat the coverts and got occasionally a good run. But not till after I had retired from the service, and become a beneficed clergyman in the diocese of Canterbury, could I claim the honour of being personally known to him. Mr. Croker, in his Diary, has told under what circumstances I was brought under the Duke's notice, very briefly; I venture to hope that, in supplementing his account, I may carry the interest of the reader along with me.

I had from an early period, both before and after the appearance of *The Subaltern*, been an occasional contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*, not as a party writer be it observed, for till the era of the first Reform Bill, I never wrote a political paper in my life; but as a somewhat sarcastic reviewer of some so-called evangelical tracts, as a describer of detached incidents in the Peninsular War, and as the author of letters on the then "Present State of India."

In 1824 I began a series of papers to which Blackwood gave the name of "The Subaltern," and which in the year following were republished in a separate volume. The book met with great success, and, being anonymous, public curiosity—as is usual in such cases—was exercised on the subject of its authorship. Instigated, as I now know, by Croker, Lockhart wrote to me and asked whether I had any objection to let my name be known. I had not the most distant notion as to the purpose for which the

question was put, and seeing no moral necessity for answering it otherwise, I told my correspondent that he might do in the matter as he thought fit. The secret, if such it may be called, was in consequence confided to Croker, and Croker brought *The Subaltern* under the notice of the Duke. No time was lost by Lockhart in letting me know in what flattering terms the Duke had spoken of the volume, and in adding his advice to that which Blackwood had urged, that I should ask the Duke's permission to dedicate the work to him. I did so, and by return of post received the following letter :—

"LONDON, *Nov.* 9, 1826.

"DEAR SIR,—I have by this post received your letter of the 9th inst., and I beg to assure you that you have been correctly informed that I had read your work with the greatest interest, and that I admire the simplicity and the truth with which you had related the various events you had witnessed, the scenes in which you had been an actor, and the circumstances of the life you had led as an officer in the 85th Regiment in the army, in the Peninsula, and the South of France. I should be happy to have an opportunity of testifying my sense of the merits of your work by consenting to the dedication to me of the second edition, only that I have long been under the necessity of declining to give a formal assent to receive the dedication of any work. I conceive that, by such assent, I give a tacit

guarantee of the contents of the work so dedicated. I know that I should be considered to have placed myself in that situation by some who might not perhaps approve of the contents.

"From what I have above stated, you will see that I could have no objection to stand in the situation described in relation to your work, and I must admit it would be better to draw a distinction between good and meritorious works and others, and to give my sanction as far as to consent to receive the compliment, if the dedication gives such sanction to the first and not to the last. But there comes another difficulty. Before I give the sanction, I must peruse the work proposed to be dedicated to me, and I must confess that I have neither leisure nor inclination to wade through the hundreds, I might almost say the thousands, of volumes offered to my protection, whether the contents are such as what I can sanction, and become a species of guarantee for their worth, their fitness, etc., etc., etc., or not. I have therefore taken the idlest and shortest way out of the difficulty, by declining to give a formal consent to receive the dedication of any work.

"This mode of proceeding frequently gives me great pain, but in no instance has it given me more than on this occasion, as you will perceive by the trouble which I give you to peruse, and myself to write, these reasons for declining to give a formal consent to accept the compliment which you have been

so kind as to propose to me. If,however, you think proper to dedicate your second edition to me, you are perfectly at liberty to do so, and you cannot express in too strong language my approbation and admiration of your interesting work.—I have the honour to be, dear sir, yours most faithfully,

"WELLINGTON.

"I was informed when I landed at Dover in April of the change in your line of life and circumstances by one of your former brother-officers."

In 1826 there was among publishers a persuasion, suggested to them, I believe, by Sir Walter Scott, that fortunes might be made by bringing out, in a cheap form, works on all subjects, provided they were written by well-known authors. Mr. Constable of Edinburgh was the first, if I recollect right, to act on the suggestion, and his *Miscellany* was advertised and begun. Among other writers I was applied to, and the subject proposed for me was a military life of the Duke of Wellington. It was assumed that from annual registers, and old gazettes and newspapers, abundant material for such a biography might be found, and the price offered for it was a liberal one; but the flattering terms in which the Duke had virtually authorised the dedication of *The Subaltern* to him, caused me to stipulate, before accepting Mr. Constable's offer, that the Duke should approve and even assist me in the performance of my task. I therefore wrote

to the Duke, explaining exactly what it was proposed to do, and begging him to say whether such a military biography would be acceptable to him. Almost by return of post I received the subjoined reply, which at once put a stop to all further negotiations with Mr. Constable.

"LONDON, *Nov.* 14, 1826.

"DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 10th inst., and am much flattered by your desire to write my life.

"The fact is that the history of my life is the history of various military campaigns and political negotiations and transactions, upon which, if ever I am to be a party to communicate anything to the public, it must be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. I don't think that anybody will be of opinion that the latter could now be published. Indeed I am at present in a situation which would prevent my declaring many matters that I know to be necessary to elucidate transactions to which I have been a party, and the time is too near in which most of these transactions have occurred to render it proper of me to talk of them at all.

"In respect to military transactions, the same objection does not exist, at least not in the same form. I am at liberty to publish what I please, and no inconvenience to the public could result from such publication. But if I insist upon publishing

the truth regarding not only individuals but nations (and anything in the shape of history that is not the truth would be unworthy of your pen, as it would be very disagreeable to me, and would besides do no good), I shall for the remainder of my life be engaged in controversies of a nature most unpleasant, as they will be with the wounded vanity of individuals and nations. I have therefore constantly declined to give any information to any historian or authority from myself to write anything, and I confess that I should alter my course in this respect with reluctance.—Ever, dear sir, yours most faithfully, WELLINGTON."

Gratified as I naturally was by the manner in which the Duke had met my demands upon his notice, I was still personally a stranger to him when, in 1829, Mr. Ravenshaw, a director of the East India Company, and a former and great admirer of Sir Thomas Munro, offered to hand over to me the materials which he had collected, provided I were willing to write a life of that distinguished officer. It happened that through my intimacy with Mr. James Cumming, at that time head of the Judicial and Revenue Department of the Board of Control, I had become surcharged, so to speak, with knowledge on Indian affairs. The letters contributed to *Blackwood,* and bearing the *nom de plume* "An Old Indian," were the results of the books I had read, and of the conversations I had held with Mr. Cumming,

and Cumming, who was on friendly terms with Mr. Ravenshaw, had doubtless spoken to him of me as of one well posted up in Indian subjects. Be this as it may, I felt myself strong enough to close with Mr. Ravenshaw's proposal, and the Munro papers—a huge pile—were in consequence sent to me. On looking them over I found a good many letters, both from Sir Thomas to the Duke and from the Duke to Sir Thomas, which, though written while one was plain Major Munro, and the other Sir Arthur Wellesley, I did not feel at liberty to make use of without obtaining the consent of the survivor of the correspondence. Accordingly I wrote to the Duke, informing him how I was circumstanced, and in due course received the subjoined reply.

"LONDON, *Aug.* 10, 1829.

"DEAR SIR,—I will be very much obliged to you if you will send me by post all my letters to Sir Thomas Munro, and if you will be so kind as come over to see me, when I shall be at Walmer Castle in the end of the week, I will tell you whether I can consent to the publication of any, and of which.—I have the honour to be, dear sir, yours most faithfully, WELLINGTON.

"I beg that you will dine and sleep the day that you will come over."

The Duke was at that time Prime Minister. He had just passed the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and

was in the midst of all the anxiety and labour consequent upon the undisguised break-up of the party which had forced him into high office. Yet, even under such trying circumstances, he found time and inclination to give, in the kindest manner, attention to the concerns of an individual whom he had never seen, and who had no claims upon his notice. His former letters had gratified me much, his present one more. I could not sufficiently admire the nobility of character of one who was thus able to postpone even for a moment his own great cares in order to meet the wishes of a stranger, and at the same time offer him hospitality.

The invitation to Walmer Castle was accepted of course, though accompanied by a request that I might be excused from sleeping there. The truth is that the prospect of becoming the guest of so great a man a good deal overawed me, and I preferred driving eight miles home to the prospect of spending the night under his roof. I had not been ten minutes in his presence before all fear of approaching him disappeared. He was most unaffected, frank, and open, at once putting me at my ease. The party consisted of Lord Chancellor and Lady Lyndhurst, and Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot, Lord Carrington, and Lady Stanhope, with others whose names I have forgotten. The dinner was a very pleasant one, and at nine o'clock or thereabouts, the ladies having retired a little earlier, we adjourned to the drawing-room. About ten o'clock

I rose to take my leave. The Duke went with me into the long passage, and pulling out the letters I had sent him, gave them to me. "There's nothing in any of them," he said, "that I should care to hide, but I have marked a few, which it might be as well to suppress, because a man in my situation is a mark for all manner of calumnies, and my meaning would be sure to be misrepresented." The Duke, as I have said, was at that time Prime Minister. His Beer Bill had offended some of his supporters; his disinclination to allow that there was much real distress in the country offended more; and, most disastrous of all, he had repealed the disabling laws against Roman Catholics. Of course I paid the strictest attention to his wishes, and went beyond them so far as slightly to change an expression in one of his letters to Munro. A freebooting chief was giving great annoyance to Munro's district, and the Duke, advising him how to act, said, "I recommend three yards of rope for Mahtab Kan, if you catch him." I knew that the Duke's enemies on reading this would raise a cry of cold-blooded indifference to human life, so I substituted the phrase, "I recommend you to treat Mahtab Kan, if you catch him, as he deserves."

From that date, August 29, till I quitted Ash in 1834, I had the privilege of living with the Duke on the most friendly terms. He never visited Walmer without inviting me to spend some days with him there, and making me acquainted

with many persons well worth knowing. As long as he remained at the head of the Government, our intercourse, though on his part uniformly gracious, never extended to confidence. That would have involved a mistake on his part, into which he, of all men living, was the least likely to fall. But he showed his goodwill towards me by offering me a Crown-living in Devonshire, which partly because, in point of value, it would have added little to my income, and partly because of its distance from London, I considered it prudent to decline. Patrons, and especially patrons of Crown-livings, do not usually care to have their courtesies rejected. The Duke rose far above such weakness, and said with a smile, "You are very right. We must wait till something better comes in the way."

CHAPTER II

THE year 1830 will long be memorable for the startling events which marked its progress both at home and abroad. In England there had been for some time previously much distress. The poor-rates were everywhere onerous, and in some of the agricultural districts well-nigh doubled the rental. All the efforts made to reduce them failed, as well because they were misdirected, as because the law itself had become a huge abuse. Farmers dismissed their men in shoals, and took on again just as many as were absolutely necessary, whom they paid, in great part, out of the rates. The residue they compelled, in my neighbourhood at least, if single men, to come to the workhouse, whence they were marched out every day in gangs to do whatever jobs the overseer might think fit to put them to. It chanced, also, that the overseer of Ash for that year was a harsh taskmaster. If no better employment could be found for able-bodied paupers, he caused them to dig holes in the ground, and fill them up again, and wounded their susceptibilities, perhaps still more deeply, by substituting for the good product of malt and hops, which used to be the workhouse beverage, beer brewed from molasses.

Whether similar practices were followed elsewhere, I did not know then, and do not know now, but that for some reason or another a bad spirit was universal among the working-classes soon became evident. No barricades were raised in the streets of London, but throughout the provinces, especially in Hampshire, in Sussex, and in Kent, a civil war of the worst kind broke out. The cry was raised that men were wantonly thrown out of work by the substitution of machinery for manual labour. As had been the case in the manufacturing districts, when spinning-jennies put hand-looms out of date, so now, in the rural districts, threshing-machines became abhorrent to the labouring-classes. Day after day, gangs of excited men marched through the land, invading farmhouses, and compelling their occupants to bring out their threshing-machines in order that they might be broken. From such invasions Ash, my parish, was not exempt. It played, on the contrary, rather a conspicuous part in the drama, and thus brought me face to face with difficulties of no common order. For up to that moment I had been on the most amicable terms with all classes of my people. I could not indeed approve of the manner in which with us, as well as elsewhere, the poor-law was abused. But I had no power to prevent it, nor, to confess the truth, could I clearly see my way to a better system of management. With the farmers therefore—and we had no resident squire—my relations were always

excellent, and by the labourers and their families I was held both in respect and affection. But it was impossible for me, with some of the habits of my original calling still unchanged, to sit still and see the parish in a state of mutiny. The invasion of Ash took place, I well recollect, on what was the market-day at Sandwich. I was sitting hard at work in my study, when my servant rushed in, pale and out of breath, to inform me that "a thousand men at least" were marching through the parish, breaking machines, and compelling the farmers' wives to give them drink. I ordered my horse to be saddled, and, running out of doors, found six or eight of the tenantry all mounted and grouped together in the village street. The crowd was in a remote part of the parish, though not so far removed as to prevent our hearing the shouts which accompanied every act of violence. I urged my neighbours to follow me and help to put a stop to the tumult. Only one man responded to the call; the rest, pleading business in the market-town, rode away, indifferent to the reproaches which in my indignation I sent after them. And good George Quested, the parson's churchwarden, and the parson himself, were left to face the mutineers, and take the consequences.

All that followed is as fresh in my memory as if events which occurred sixty years ago had occurred but yesterday. We trotted down to the district called West Marsh, and encountered a body of some

forty or fifty men who had just smashed a threshing-machine at one farmhouse, and were moving towards another. We saw at a glance that the bulk of the throng were not parishioners; the leaders, on the contrary, and a good many of their followers, were strangers, both to Quested and me, thereby giving confirmation to the opinion, which was prevalent at the time, that the impulse to mischief came from abroad. As soon as the crowd saw us approach, and heard me desire them to stop, almost all the Ash men hung back; the others moved on, led by a fellow in the garb of a sailor, and shouted to us to get out of the way, otherwise worse would come of it. I was satisfied that the majority of the rioters would certainly not join in any attack upon us, and persuaded myself that they would interfere, if the need arose, in our defence; and in this faith I rode at once against the leader and seized him by the collar. His own people made a move to close round him, but meeting with no support from behind, they stopped short. Then followed a sort of parley, of which the conclusion was, that the rioters agreed to follow me quietly into the village and then disperse, provided I did not insist on making a prisoner of the sailor. And they kept their word. Once, and only once, coming on a threshing-machine, which a farmer had brought out of his yard and placed in their way, a partial rush was made towards it. But when I dismounted and planted myself beside it, saying at the same time that I would mark the first

man who laid a hand upon it, a shout was raised to "Let it alone." And let alone it was. We thereupon resumed our march, Quested and I leading, without an attempt made to commit any other outrage by the way.

Whether any report was made of these proceedings to the Lord-Lieutenant, or my conduct on one or two subsequent occasions had attracted his attention, I do not know. But I was soon afterwards surprised and gratified by receiving a communication from the Clerk of the County to the effect that my name had been submitted in the proper quarter for a commission as Justice of the Peace. I could not possibly decline the honour, the country being in so disturbed a condition, and may even go so far, without boasting, as to say that in my new capacity I did some service to the State. Machine-breaking had become troublesome, and to a certain extent dangerous. Had the county magistrates acted at the outset with greater vigour, it never could have grown to what it became, for one or two convictions, followed by transportation for seven years, put a stop to it. Hence, while men's minds misgave them in London, and other great towns, we in the country persuaded ourselves that from danger to person and property we might now consider ourselves free. We were not left long under this delusion. A more formidable evil soon overtook us, because we had more to guard against in the shape of incendiarism. Night after night

stackyards and barns took fire, and when engines hurried from the nearest towns to each imperilled spot, the crowds which gathered to watch the blaze refused to work with them. I remember to this day the impression made upon me when returning home from a visit to Scotland with my family. I saw, as I approached Ash, late in the autumual evening, the *glare* of the strong red reflection of what was evidently a fire upon a large scale. Nor were we left in doubt as to the case. The overseer's farm and stackyard were in flames, and the crowd which had gathered to watch the progress of the conflagration shouted as rick after rick caught fire. Becker, for such was the overseer's name, had acquired and deserved a high character for courage. He was a powerful man, against whom at market-dinners, when a good deal of strong drink was consumed, few ventured to stand up, and those who did invariably went down. He expressed himself likewise on all occasions in very contemptuous terms of the hostile feelings of the working-classes, and boasted of a double-barrelled gun always ready for such of them as should attempt to do him an injury. There was an end of all this display of bravado now. As he moved about among the wreck of his property, haggard and incapable, as it seemed, of giving direction to others, it was impossible not to pity him, and the more because from time to time scores were heard to cry aloud, "Where's your double-barrelled gun now, Becker? Why don't you hand out your

treacle beer?" Nor was the Beckers' the only fire that spread dismay and brought disgrace upon the neighbourhood. Far and near, night after night, huge bonfires of corn and fodder, broke in upon the darkness, and the very atmosphere for days was scented with the odour of smouldering ashes.

It was during the prevalence of scenes like these that the Duke paid his usual visit in the autumn of 1830 to Walmer Castle, and there, for the first time in my life, I met Sir Robert Peel. Of the impression he made upon me I will not speak here, because the proper time for doing so will occur by and by. But I may mention, in passing, the state of the country, and still more, perhaps, that the condition of the Tory party appeared to have made a deeper impression upon him than they seemed to do upon the Duke. This is not perhaps to be wondered at. Peel, who, as Home Secretary, was charged with the maintenance of public tranquillity, had not gone through that training which enabled the Duke to remain cool and collected amid pressing dangers. It would have been strange therefore had he been as able as his illustrious chief to put a restraint upon his anxiety. But whether this was the sole operating cause, or other feelings moved him, I could not but be struck at the marked difference in the tone of their conversation when passing events were referred to. The Duke spoke openly on the prevalence of discontent at home, and the unhappy way in which it showed itself; of the French

Revolution, and its mischievous influence abroad; and on the probable results of the General Election consequent on the demise of the Crown. Peel, on the other hand, sat silent and reserved, or, if he spoke at all, it was only to show that such discussions were the reverse of agreeable to him. One custom, however, I noticed, common to both. They abused the newspapers, and professed to hold their comments in contempt; yet twice a day copies of all that were published in London arrived in duplicates at the Castle, and twice a day both the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary spent much time in studying them. On the whole, however, the brief interval between the Dissolution and the meeting of the new Parliament proved, so far as the Duke was concerned, one of comparative quiet. He might be, and probably was, little satisfied with the general aspect of public affairs, but, unlike Peel, he kept his anxieties to himself, and made his house as agreeable to his visitors as if there hung no cloud on the political horizon.

They who read these sketches can scarcely be made to understand how anxiously public opinion was affected in 1830 by the first advances of railway travelling towards a system. Up to that date the possibility of acquiring such a mastery over steam as to make it the instrument of locomotion by land as well as by sea was called in question, and the engineer who proposed to construct a line which would connect Liverpool with Manchester was spoken of in general

society as next door to a madman. The work was, however, completed, and in order to give éclat to the triumph of genius over nature, the Duke of Wellington was invited, in his capacity of Prime Minister, to take part in the opening journey. It chanced that he was at Walmer and surrounded by a large company of guests when the invitation reached him, and not a few, especially his lady friends, were urgent with him to decline. "No great or permanent good could come of the invention, because stage-coaches already travelled at the rate of eight or nine or even ten miles in the hour, and if the attempt were made to exceed that pace, the respiration of passengers would become painful, perhaps impossible." The Duke would listen to no remonstrances. He thought, as others did, that the experiment was risky, and derided the idea of accelerating the pace, as was promised, to twenty miles an hour. Even a twelve-mile pace he regarded as excessive, because difficult, if not impossible to control, and agreed in the opinion that iron way would never, for general traffic, supersede our macadamised roads, then brought to perfection. But he considered himself bound to play the part assigned to him, in what was represented to be a great national enterprise, and, insisting on his friends remaining in the Castle till his return, he departed. We did wait his return, which was not delayed beyond the time required for the double journey, and he arrived, dining with us a changed man. The

unfortunate death of Huskisson, due entirely to his own lack of presence of mind, had made a very painful impression on the Duke. He described it as the most shocking spectacle he had ever witnessed, and though freely admitting the fault lay with Mr. Huskisson himself, he never afterwards, as long as it was possible to find posthorses, could be persuaded to travel by rail.

The company broke up soon after the Duke's return, only Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot and myself remaining, at his request, behind. It seemed as if a load were lifted from his mind by the departure of the others, for he became, to an extent which was new at least to me, communicative on all manner of subjects. He spoke much of Huskisson in connection with Canning and Palmerston, insisted that Canning had learnt more from Huskisson than he taught him, and censured Palmerston for widening on all occasions, instead of trying to reconcile, divisions in the Cabinet. Even at the last, he said, it was quite in Palmerston's power to have arrested the break-up. "But Palmerston never liked me. I stood in his way when he attempted and all but succeeded in subordinating the office of Commander-in-Chief to that of Secretary at War, and he never forgave me. As Secretary at War, in his proper place he behaved well enough, but as a member of my Cabinet he was by no means an agreeable colleague. I may be wrong, but I have always suspected him of having put Huskisson up to the move

which led to the tender of his resignation. He imagined that without Huskisson and his friends, himself being one of them, I should not be able to get on, though what he expected to follow my failure, I do not pretend to guess."

"Did you really feel Huskisson to be a serious loss to your administration—he was not a great speaker, and Peel and he had little in common?"

DUKE. "He was not a great speaker, certainly, but he had clear views of his own on most subjects, and expressed them clearly in Parliament. He didn't much like Peel, nor Peel him, but they got on tolerably well together—as well, that is to say, as men constituted like them could be expected to do. It was not an easy team to drive, I can assure you, and Huskisson, though he made a bad start, was by no means the most restive of the set. I should have been very glad to keep him, had he taken the only course open to him by withdrawing his letter, but it was impossible for me to accept his assurance that he never intended to resign, and had not therefore resigned at all. I gave Dudley a pretty broad hint of what would set all to rights, and if Dudley conferred, as I have reason to believe he did, with Palmerston, before seeing Huskisson, it seems to me more probable that Palmerston persuaded him to be silent, than that Dudley, who really did not wish to leave me, should have deceived Huskisson."

"We all know that Huskisson was very sorry for the part he played in the Penrhyn case, and would have come back to you on your own terms, if you had given him any encouragement. It was with this view that he was invited to meet you at Lord Hertford's."

DUKE. "I am quite aware of all that, but it was then too late. I could not possibly request Murray, or anybody else, who had joined me in my hour of need, to make way for one who had twice kicked over the traces, and was just as likely as not to do so again. The Government would have lost rather than gained strength, had I acted otherwise than I did."

"You found a coalition with the Whigs to be impossible?"

DUKE. "I never tried to coalesce with the Whigs. Lord Grey was made aware that I was open to any proposals from him, because I believed that in repealing the laws against the Catholics I had bridged over all serious differences of views that kept us asunder, and had he acted on his own judgment, I believed at one time that he might have formed such a Government as would have commanded the respect of the country. But Lord Grey, able man as he is, and eloquent in debate, is very proud, and, at the same time, deficient in self-reliance. He was over-persuaded by those about him, and especially by his son-in-law, to reject my advances, and was the more easily

induced to do so because of the King's former treatment of him. His refusal, and the defection of the Canningites, left me no alternative except to work with such tools as came to hand."

CHAPTER III

THE new Parliament met on the 26th October 1830. While the General Election was going on, hopes were entertained that the Government would command a small majority, but as return after return came in, these grew continually fainter, and in the end vanished away. The truth is that the Duke's administration had never been much in favour with the country. There prevailed in those days, among all classes, an extreme jealousy of soldier-statesmen, from the influence of which the Duke, in spite of his eminent services, was not exempt; and though the extent to which he reduced public expenditure was freely admitted, even that failed to enlist public opinion on his side. The press, likewise, was generally hostile to him; he had never courted it, but, on the contrary, embraced every opportunity of vilifying and sneering at it, and, when Prime Minister, avoided as much as possible all communication with newspaper editors and writers. Now Canning, throughout the whole of his public life, had acted on a principle directly the reverse, and his followers, aware of the policy of so acting, took their cue from him. The consequence was that even the *Courier*, at that time

almost the sole ministerial paper in London, gave to the Duke's ministers but a half-hearted support, while all the rest, especially after the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, did their best to write him down.

Fully alive to these facts, and convinced that the prevalent hostile feeling was personal to himself, the Duke could not bring himself to believe, in spite of the equivocal results of the General Election, that it would be impossible to carry on the Government as it had heretofore been conducted. All that was needed in order to keep things straight was, in his opinion, that he should retire and a more popular statesman take his place. His language was this: "There are not fewer than six parties in the country—the Radicals, who oppose all Governments; the ultra-Tories, with the Duke of Cumberland at their head; Lord Grey, his followers not very numerous; the Whigs, of whom Brougham may be regarded as the spokesman; the Canningites, and ourselves. We are much stronger, both in Parliament and out, than any one of our opponents, and if I were out of the way, it appears to me that they would be unable to agree among themselves respecting our successors; factions holding views so widely divergent would scarcely unite for the single purpose of turning us out. If I remain at the head of the Government, it is likely enough that the hatred of me may lead to a movement of this sort, and should this occur,

and our ministration be broken up, the consequences cannot fail to be serious. For, however difficult it may be for an Opposition so disjointed to form an administration from it, sometime or other they will, and unless they bring forward at once obviously revolutionary measures, a Government fairly beaten and forced to resign would be guilty of postponing public duty to party purposes, were it to refuse to its successor a fair trial. On these grounds I am very desirous that Peel should become First Lord of the Treasury. He might, though I could not—after the line taken by Lord Grey at the opening of the last session—make another attempt to bring him into the Government. I doubt whether the Government would not lose as much as it gained by such an arrangement, because, though the late King's death has removed the most serious obstacle out of the way, Lord Grey would not prove a very manageable subordinate. His following is small. But the trial might be made, and failing success in that quarter, the Canningites —with whom, after all that has passed, I could not act—would hardly refuse to take office under Peel. Moreover, the fact that the Prime Minister sat in the House of Commons and not in the Lords would go some way to win the favour of the public. On the whole, therefore, though far from sanguine, I think the tide would turn in our favour were I to go back to the army and Peel take my place. And I am confident that if we could tide over the first

few months, our party would ere long become as powerful as it ever was."

Peel, as is well known, declined to accede to the Duke's wish. Perhaps he really distrusted his own power to conciliate any section of the Opposition, for—and I write the words with some diffidence—he might have no particular desire to extricate from his difficulties one who, on a memorable occasion, had made, as it were, a scapegoat of him. Be this as it may, the Duke, though he bore himself bravely in public, felt keenly the difficulties of his position. Foreign affairs were all in confusion—the revolution in Paris made itself felt in every country in Europe, leading to the revolt of his Belgian provinces against the King of the Netherlands, the expulsion of the Russian garrison from Warsaw, and popular risings in Germany; then with the disputed succession in Portugal and the threatened intervention of Spain, the internal affairs of her neighbour exercised him greatly, because of the danger lest one mishap or other, or all combined, should bring on a great European war. At home the state of Ireland threatened to become more intolerable than ever. The concession of the political rights to the Roman Catholics only encouraged them to make fresh demands, and the hostility between them and the Orangemen in the North grew every day more rancorous. Moreover, a faint cry for reform of the House of Commons began to be heard, and so unpopular had the ministry become,

that for the Secretary of State for the Colonies no place in Parliament could be found. All but despairing of the future, the Duke put a strong restraint upon himself, and through Lord Clive offered Lord Palmerston a place in the Cabinet; the offer was declined, and nothing remained except to face whatever the near future might bring about.

I must not, however, trespass further on the province of history. They who read it, if it be only in the *Annual Register*, will learn how, during the autumn of 1830, discontent and incendiarism spread throughout the country.

Birmingham led the way in forming a political union which had its branches in London and other great towns. Wild, anonymous letters, full of threatening, reached public men, and hence the King, after promising to dine at the Mansion House in November, was restrained by the Government from fulfilling the engagement.

With these and other great events arising out of them I have no right to meddle further. They proved too strong for the Duke's administration to grapple with, and, defeated in the House of Commons on a question affecting the Civil List, members announced that they retained office only till their successors should be appointed. And in due time, though not without some delay, caused by Lord Grey's reluctance to stifle Brougham's Reform Motion, by raising him to the woolsack, appointed they were.

CHAPTER IV

I NEVER saw the Duke so depressed as he appeared to be during the few days he spent at Walmer, prior to the reassembling of Parliament. For the resignation of his Government occurred on the 16th of November, and the Houses having adjourned, after passing a few urgent measures, did not meet again till the following February. Of this interval, one portion was spent in London, another at Strathfieldsaye, and a third—a very limited one—at Walmer. The great man made no attempt to hide from the few friends who met him there his anxiety respecting the future. He spoke openly, likewise, about the causes which had led to the ministerial defeat, which he attributed in part to the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, in part to the French Revolution. He would not admit for a moment that his own abrupt declaration against parliamentary reform had the slightest influence on the matter. "I did not declare against parliamentary reform in any shape. What I said was, that Parliament, as now constituted, provided means for attending to the interests of every portion of the Empire, and of

every class in the community; that in what are called nomination branches, seats were provided for gentlemen representing the interests of India and the Colonies; that the labouring-classes had their spokesmen in the freemen of some boroughs, and the potwallopers of others; and that till I saw a scheme better adapted to serve all their interests than that now in existence, I would never propose or support any proposal to interfere with it. My speech had nothing whatever to do with our defeat, which had been arranged and determined upon before the Houses met. It was, as I have just said, the Catholic question that gave us the first shake which the French Revolution, occurring just as the General Election had begun, completed. I confess that I did not count on losing so many of our friends as forsook us in consequence of the Catholic Relief Bill. Nor do I believe that we should have lost them but for the extraordinary influence exercised by the Duke of Cumberland over the late King, and the King's extraordinary method of carrying on the business of the country. But so it was, and there was nothing left for us, except to let all parties understand that office was accessible to every man against whom the King did not entertain a personal prejudice. We hoped thus to strengthen ourselves by bringing in the more moderate of the Whigs; but the Whigs would not come except as a party, and as a party we could not receive them. We had the Canningites, and

having no success with them, we determined to fight the battle by ourselves, and as we were by far the strongest party of all, I have no doubt we should have fought it successfully, but for the French Revolution. That came at a most unfortunate moment, and turned the heads of the constituencies. And, now, what is the prospect before us? The gentlemen now in power are committed to Revolution by the applause with which, as private persons, they greeted those in Paris and Brussels. They must thus be at one in their foreign politics, though how they are to govern in the King's name, and in maintenance of his constitutional authority, I, for one, cannot see. But now about our home policy. No two of them think alike about corn laws, currency, and income-tax, or even parliamentary reform. And their ideas as to the proper mode of governing Ireland are so expressed as to mean anything. The short and the long of it is, that with such a Government to direct our affairs, I anticipate both foreign war and confusion, not to say revolution, at home."

Holding these opinions, the Duke still deprecated any attempt prematurely to overthrow the existing administration. The breach between his party and the ultra-Protestants was still open; and he felt not only that it would be improper not to give their members for the time being a fair trial, but that were any combination capable of throwing them out, there was no party capable to take their place.

But no sooner was their scheme of parliamentary reform made known than all his energies seemed to return. The question raised was in his opinion whether the monarchy should make way for the democracy, and all the great institutions of the country, as well as the rights and properties of individuals, be set aside, not by violence, but by due course of law. "It was a Revolution in itself," he once said to me, "which ought to have been crushed in the bud, and I suggested to Peel the propriety of moving that leave be refused to introduce the Bill. But Peel always had his own views about what was due to the House of Commons, and my advice was not acted upon. And now you see what a mess we are in." Whatever may be thought of the ruling motive which guided Earl Grey and his colleagues in their policy, there is no denying the skill with which their ministerial measure was concocted, and the adroit manner in which, during the progress of incubation, its authors kept their own counsel. Not the House of Commons only, but the whole country, was taken by surprise when the details of the Reform Bill were made public. Not the most advanced of the Liberals in town or country had anticipated anything so drastic, and even of Conservatives, or, as they called themselves, Tories, there were many who at the first blush pronounced in favour of it. As to the newspapers, all, or nearly all, without exception, as well metropolitan as provincial,

joined in a chorus of applause, and it seemed for a moment as if, without the slightest opposition in any quarter, the Government would achieve a great success. Yet the interval between the first and second reading of the Bill sufficed to dispel in many quarters the delusion—for so the Duke pronounced it to be—under which men laboured, mainly, it must be allowed, because of the extravagant terms in which the press spoke to the working-classes of the benefits they must receive from the new order of things. The reaction, however, was not so decided as to make them in any way alive to the folly they had committed. They might see the peculiar tendency of the course which the Government had entered, but they could not bring themselves to arrest it, because a defeat of the present Government must bring back the Duke and Peel into power. Hence not a few, who had to repent the proceeding, voted in favour of the Bill on the second reading, thus enabling it to pass by a slender majority of nine. This was all that the Government desired. They had no intention, if they could help it, of fighting the battle of Reform with the existing Parliament, and seized in consequence the first appearance of opposition in Committee to dissolve. Amidst what disgraceful scenes the command for a dissolution went forth, I need not stop to discuss. Angry mobs traversed the streets of London, without the faintest attempt made by the police to disperse

them, committing all sorts of outrages, and breaking, among others, the windows of Apsley House, where the Duke was in attendance by the dying bed of the Duchess.

The ministers, doubtless, saw in this the ultimate triumph of their policy. Its immediate effect was to open the eyes of many who, had they not allowed themselves to be blinded by passion, would have earlier seen that the repeal of the last of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics constituted no ground of permanent estrangement between them and the Wellington administration.

As I have elsewhere said, I had not up to that moment taken much interest in politics, and had never written a political paper in my life. My contributions to *Blackwood* had all been either literary or theological, and even these, in consequence of numerous engagements elsewhere, had of late been withheld. But it was impossible to be as much in the Duke's society as I then had the happiness to be, and to hear him day by day speak as he did, without catching the infection, and becoming as fully convinced as he was that on the defeat of the ministerial measure depended the existence of the monarchy. Naturally my first thought was turned towards the best means of working upon public opinion. Though never myself a contributor to any newspaper, either daily or weekly, I had made the acquaintance of many gentlemen who

did contribute, and fully understood from them how different was the treatment they and their collaborateurs received at the hands of the Tories and the Whigs. This knowledge it was which induced me to begin a correspondence with the Duke which gradually mixed me up more closely than I anticipated or desired in a struggle, from the outset, all but hopeless.

"ASH, NEAR WINGHAM, *April* 4, 1831.

"MY LORD DUKE,—If the aspect of the times were different from what it is, I might well apologise for the contents of this letter. As the case stands, I persuade myself you will not consider the suggestions I am about to make either impertinent or valueless.

"I think it was Lord Wynford who said in the House of Lords that the few who stand up in defence of the British constitution are cramped and hindered through lack of a greater support from without. Why is this? Not because you have no friends and adherents in the country, for you have many, but because you have no unity among yourselves; and, above all, you exercise no control over the periodical press. Now the press is a very powerful engine, of which your opponents fully understand the value, and of which they wisely make use. My Lord, you must endeavour to do likewise, otherwise there can be no hope for you in the present or any other great struggle.

"There is one branch of the periodical press to which, it appears to me, due attention has never been paid. I allude to the country newspapers. Let the London papers write as they will; but if the party of which your Grace is the head, the genuine supporters of your country's greatness, are in earnest, I beseech you to come forward not with your voices in the senate only, but with your influence out of doors. In other words, if you feel that the present is a great crisis, make arrangements for setting up in every county one or more newspapers which shall advocate the cause to which you are attached. I will stake my credit upon it, that if this course be pursued to its proper limits, you will work even yet such a change in public opinion as shall surprise both you and the Government. No doubt, such arrangements will be attended with expense, but it is quite evident that neither your Grace's high character in the one House, nor Sir Robert Peel's authority in the other, is adequate, under existing circumstances, to stem the tide that has set in. You must find an organ through which to address the people at large, otherwise you labour in vain.

"I do not know how other counties are circumstanced, but in Kent, papers are published in three different towns, in Maidstone, Canterbury, and Rochester. You ought to command one in each. I am much deceived if the money laid out in the

establishment of them would not eventually be recovered, but at all events the experiment is worth trying.

"I have only to add that, though a poor man, I am ready to subscribe my proportion, and, as far as I can, to give a direction to the tone of all the Kentish papers; and I speak from book when I say that there are many gentlemen in the county who would willingly come forward in like manner.

"Permit me to crave one favour here. I have not dropped a hint of this idea to any one, and I trust that your Grace, if you think it worth while to notice the suggestion, will write to me in confidence, so that I may hear from you before Thursday—Friday our Quarter Sessions are held, when without committing you, I might feel the pulse of my brother-magistrates.

"Believe me, with the most profound respect and admiration, your Grace's obliged and faithful servant, G. R. GLEIG.

"*P.S.*—I have already done my best to get the command of one paper, but found the proprietor stubborn because the Tories, as usual, seem afraid to speak their opinions. There are multitudes whom dread of abuse in the public papers keep neutral."

"STRATHFIELDSAYE, *April* 6, 1831.

"I have received your letter of the 4th inst. I acknowledge that I allowed my contempt for the newspapers—a contempt founded upon the experience of a long life, of their utter inefficiency to do an individual any mischief, even when directed by such men as Cobbett, Walter, Brougham, Jeffrey, Perry, Alexander, etc. — to influence my conduct in respect to the press, when I was in office. The press is an engine of a very different description, when it attacks individuals, and when it attacks the institutions of the country. It is powerful in respect to the latter, and no man can blame my own neglect more than I do. But I must say this, the fault is not entirely mine. I succeeded to a period of total disorganisation. There were neither funds nor men at my disposal to do even the little I wished to do upon this subject when I was in office. In the meanwhile the French Revolution and its consequences, and the press, destroyed the Government, and here we are in a real crisis. I assure you that I am not insensible to its importance. I firmly believe what I stated on my legs in the House of Lords.

"In a short time, and that a period approaching nearer to be counted by months than by years, nothing will remain of England but the name and the soil. Its greatness will be in history, but everything which occasioned it, preserved it, and would

perpetuate it, will be annihilated. Our laws are strong and even sanguinary, but our Government is mild, and has of late years become more so daily, insomuch that we scarcely feel that it exists. To this habitual mildness, I might almost say apathy of the Government, I attribute the want of sensibility of men in general to measures proposed by the King's ministers, which must occasion the destruction of all Government and authority in the country, and deprive all of the protection hitherto enjoyed for persons and property.

"In a country in which there are the largest properties, real as well as personal, held by subjects of any in the world, in which there are various institutions established by law, or by charter, or by usage, necessary for the peace, the happiness, or the security of the country or its individuals, in which there are questions daily occurring for the arbitration and decision of Government, between general utility on the one hand, and private property on the other, we have of a sudden discovered that we can go on without a Government in Parliament; that the popular influence in Parliament is not strong enough, and that we must try new theories in order to strengthen that influence, which, at the same time, we are assured will not produce the effect announced to be intended, but will tend to strengthen the influence of property in Parliament, and the Conservative influence in the country. We are thus to be cheated to our ruin and destruc-

tion, which I consider to be as certain, if this measure passes the Parliament, as it is that I am writing by the light of the day.

"I have done everything in my power to awaken the public to a sense of the danger, but hitherto without much effect. Expense has not been spared to obtain some assistance from the press, and I believe that some progress has been made. But, of course, I can have but little, if anything, to say to these efforts. If you should have no objection, however, I could put you into communication with some persons who have turned their attention to this subject, and in the meantime I think that you would do well to communicate with those whom you may think capable and willing either to contribute or exert themselves in the general cause in Kent.

"Of this all may be certain, there never was a cause to such a degree the cause of the public in general as this is. The question reduced to its simple terms is this. Shall we continue to have a Government capable of protecting our lives, properties, and institutions, or shall we not? Or rather, shall we incur the certain loss of all these—the happiness, and prosperity, and greatness of our country, in order to follow the example of the delusive theories of our neighbours?—Believe me, ever yours most faithfully, WELLINGTON."

"ASH, NEAR WINGHAM, *April* 8, 1831.

"I have only time, before setting out for Canterbury, to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's letter, and to beg of you to make any use of me that you may think proper.

"I still cling to the idea of bringing influence to bear upon the provincial press. The London papers are seldom read by the yeomanry or the tradesmen in the provinces, and they exercise comparatively little influence over the minds of the educated classes. Besides, the London press probably find their own interest better consulted by sailing with the stream rather than endeavouring to arrest it.

"We had a meeting of magistrates and country gentlemen yesterday, almost all of whom were opposed to the Bill, though, except one or two, all seemed afraid of so much as getting up a petition against it. To-day the subject will be resumed, and I still hope that something may be done.

"Though I agree with your Grace in thinking that change of any kind is dangerous, will it be prudent to take up that line of argument? Will it not serve our purpose better to speak generally of a wish to abolish corruption without trenching on vested rights?

"Our county member, Sir Edward Knatchbull, has been in communication with me for some time, and seems ready to follow your Grace's lead; but

he lacks moral courage.—Believe me, most truly, your Grace's obliged and faithful servant,

"G. R. GLEIG."

"ASH, NEAR WINGHAM,
"*Saturday Night, April* 9, 1831.

"I have just returned from the Quarter Sessions, and I think it right to communicate to your Grace the substance of all that has been done, and is likely to be done, by the gentry of this county.

"As an individual, I take the line of professing hostility to any sudden change in the constitution. Especially such a change as the Bill must produce. But I do not find, even among the most decided Tories here, one man in twenty who will subscribe to the same sentiments. A conviction has gone abroad that reform in some shape or another must be accepted, and the only question seems to be as to the extent to which changes shall be carried. Whether this proceeds from intimidation, or from a half-belief in the wisdom of the measure, it is not worth while to inquire. Such, however, is the plain state of the case, and I am much afraid that if we strive to hold the ground which your Grace has taken up, we shall be left without a single supporter in this county.

"With this conviction in my mind I am prepared to declare in general terms that I am not hostile to the principle of reform, provided a reform can be effected which shall not break in upon vested or

corporate rights. A large majority of the gentlemen of the county are ready to make a similar declaration, and on Tuesday next Sir Brook Bridges, Mr. Hammond, and Mr. Morrice are to dine here for the purpose of drawing up with me a public statement to this effect. It will be signed, I make no doubt, by fifteen out of twenty of the landed proprietors of the county, and will explicitly condemn the ministerial measure as one fraught with the most dangerous consequences. More than this it is useless to attempt, and I assure your Grace that some management was necessary to obtain even this.

"And now permit me to press one point upon your Grace's most serious consideration. It is quite evident the Conservative party has become comparatively feeble, only because its members are not at one among themselves. Will it not be prudent to yield a little in order to remedy this most distressing evil? I do not ask your Grace to retract one syllable which you have spoken or written. I do not even desire to find you employing, in the House of Lords, other arguments than those which you already use there. But in your private correspondence, I can see an incalculable measure of good likely to arise from a certain modification of opinion, could you bring yourself to adopt it. My Lord, we want a leader, and we look to your Grace to become such; but we are composed of stuff so heterogeneous that we will not follow, as our

interests require us to do, any man who directly opposes popular clamour. In plain language, if your Grace would take the trouble to write me such a letter as I could show to my fellow committee men on Tuesday—a statement, for example, that while your own opinions remain unchanged, you are ready to adopt the lesser of two evils, by bringing forward a measure of your own, or at least that you will not object to some measure of temperate reform—I am much mistaken if it do not immediately lead to the formation of a strong and active Tory party in this quarter of the kingdom. If we could thus throw out the Government, time at least would be gained, and much might occur in the interval to direct public attention in some degree into other channels.

"The view of reform which seems to be most generally taken here is this: 1*st*. That the large towns, Birmingham and such like, shall have members. 2*nd*. That the boroughs absolutely decayed, Old Sarum, Grampound, etc., be disfranchised. 3*rd*. That the right of voting in other boroughs, such as Romsey, Rye, etc., be extended to all inhabitants paying a certain rental or assessment, and in some cases thrown open to the hundred. 4*th*. That some changes be effected in the elective system of Scotland which shall connect the privileges with absolute property in the soil.

"When I submit these four propositions to your

Grace, I do so with no intention of seeking to influence your private judgment. All that I am really anxious to obtain—and I confess that in this I am deeply anxious—is some general assertion on your part that, though unconvinced by any arguments you have heard, you are still ready to withdraw your opposition from everything in the shape of reform. Were this given, however guardedly, it would do more towards restoring unanimity among the true friends of the country than any other steps that could be taken.

"In case you think fit to consider this point, may I beg the favour of a reply which shall reach me, if possible, on Tuesday morning.—I am, with the greatest respect, and most truly, your Grace's obliged and faithful servant, G. R. GLEIG."

"LONDON, *April* 10, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your letters of the 8th and 9th. It is curious enough that I, who have been the greatest reformer on earth, should be held up as an enemy to all reform. This assertion is neither more nor less than one of the lying cries of the day.

"If by reform is meant parliamentary reform, or a change in the mode and system of representation, what I have said is, that I have never heard of a plan that was safe and practicable that would give satisfaction, and that, while I was in office, I should oppose myself to reform in Parliament. This was

in answer to Lord Grey, on the first day of the session. I am still of the same opinion. I think that Parliament has done its duty—that, constituted as Parliament is, having in it as a member every man noted in the country for his fortune, his talents, his science, his industry, or his influence, the first men of all professions in all branches of trade and manufacture, connected with our colonies and settlements abroad, and representing, as it does, all the states of the United Kingdom, the government of the country is still a task almost more than human. To conduct the government would be almost impossible, if, by reform, the House of Commons should be brought to a greater degree under popular influence; yet let those who wish for reform reflect for a moment where we should all stand if we were to lose for a day the protection of Government.

"That is the ground on which I stand in respect to the question of reform in general. I have more experience in the government of this country than any man now alive, as well as in foreign countries. I have no borough influence to lose, and I hate the whole concern too much, to think of endeavouring to gain any. Ask the gentlemen of the Cinque Ports whether I have ever troubled any of them.

"On the other hand, I know that I should be the idol of the country if I could pretend to change my opinion and alter my course, and I know that I exclude myself from political power by persevering

in the course which I have taken. But nothing shall induce me to utter a word either in public or in private that I don't believe to be true. If it be God's will that this great country should be destroyed, and that mankind should be deprived of this last asylum of peace and happiness, be it so. But as long as I can raise my voice, I shall do so against the infatuated madness of the day.

"In respect to details, it has always appeared to me that the first step upon the subject was the most important. We talk of unrepresented great towns. These are towns which have all the benefit of being governed by the system of the British constitution without the evil of elections. Look at Scotland. Does Scotland suffer because it has not the benefit of riotous elections? I think that reform in Scotland would be, and I am certain would be thought, a grievance by many in that country. I can answer for there being many respectable men in Manchester, and I believe there are some in Birmingham and Leeds, who are adverse to change.

"But how is this change to be made? Either by adding to the number of the representatives in Parliament from England! or by disfranchising what are called the Rotten Boroughs! The first cannot be done without a departure from the basis and a breach of the Acts of Union; and mind, a serious departure and breach of these Acts, inasmuch as the limits of the extension could not be less than from fifteen to twenty towns.

"The last would be, in my opinion, a violation of the first and most important principle of the constitution for no valid reason, and upon no ground whatever, excepting a popular cry and an apprehension of the consequences of resisting it. But this is not all. I confess that I see in thirty members for Rotten Boroughs thirty men, I don't care of which party, who would preserve the state of property as it is, who would maintain by their votes the Church of England, its possessions, its churches and universities, all our great institutions and corporations, the Union with Scotland and Ireland, the union of the country with its foreign colonies and possessions, the national honour abroad, and its good faith with all the King's subjects at home. I see men at the back of the Government to enable it to protect individuals and their property against the injustice of the times, which would sacrifice all rights and all property to a description of plunder called general convenience and utility. I think that it is the presence of this description of man in Parliament with the country gentleman and the great merchants, bankers, and manufacturers which constitutes the great difference between the House of Commons and those assemblies abroad called Chambers of Deputies. It is by means of the representatives of the close corporations that the great proprietors of the country participate in political power. I don't think that we could spare thirty or forty of these

representatives, or change them with advantage for thirty or forty members, elected for the great towns by any new system. I am certain that the country would be injured by depriving men of great property of political power, besides the injury done to it by exposing the House of Commons to a greater degree of popular influence.

"You will observe that I have now considered only the smallest of all reforms, a reform which would satisfy nobody; yet it cannot be adopted without a serious departure from principle (principle in the maintenance of which the smallest as well as the greatest of us is interested), and by running all the risks of those misfortunes which all wish to avoid.

"I tell you that we must not risk our great institutions and large properties, personal as well as real. If we do, there is not a man of this generation so young, so old, so rich, so poor, so bold, so timid as that he will not feel the consequences of this rashness.

"This opinion is founded not on reasoning only, but on experience, and I shall never cease to declare it.—Believe me, my dear sir, ever yours most faithfully, WELLINGTON."

CHAPTER V

FROM this time forth up to the termination of the great struggle I had the happiness of being admitted into the Duke's entire confidence. He told me of all that he had done and was going to do, in order to hinder the Bill from passing. He showed me his correspondence with the King, when reports, founded on what appeared to be good authority, reached him of the secret meaning of the Birmingham movements, and pointed out emphatically those portions of his Majesty's reply which he believed to be the outpouring of his own feelings in contradistinction to the dictates of his ministers. He spoke with some bitterness of the attack upon Apsley House at the period of the dissolution, and was intensely interested in regard to the pending elections. If I were to transcribe all the letters that passed between us—whether relating to the parliamentary contests, or to the establishment of a Conservative press—I should fill volumes. I content myself, therefore, with giving a few specimens of the tone in which our correspondence was carried on, as being sufficient to bring into full light, both the views of the great man, at this

important period of English history, and the arguments with which he supported them.

We have long known that the hopes entertained by the Tories of 1831 of holding, if not their own, at all events some portion of their ground at the General Election in April of that year, were groundless. The nation had lost its head on the subject of parliamentary reform, and every effort, whether at the meetings or elsewhere, to let the constituencies understand the real nature of the situation, failed. In Kent, it is true, the Tories had more than common difficulties to contend against. Our leading member, Sir Edward Knatchbull, had taken a prominent part in bolstering up the Wellington administration, and Lord Winchelsea, perhaps the most popular nobleman in the country, followed up his duel with the Prime Minister by denouncing him, and still more, Sir Robert Peel, at one public meeting after another, as traitors to the constitution. It was no great gain to our cause that now, when the results of their policy began to show themselves, they cried "Peccavi." Their conversion confirmed rather than shook the confidence of the constituencies in the wisdom of the ministerial proposals, because they saw in it only the determination of these gentlemen to prop up old abuses even at the expense of their own consistency. Hence, wherever the elections failed of their own accord to place reformers at the head of the poll,

mobs took care that only reformers should find it safe to vote according to their consciences.

In the elections for Kent, for Canterbury, and for Sandwich, I naturally took a lively interest. Kent was a wider field than I could hope to act upon to any purpose. Canterbury, being nine miles from Ash, could be approached only through others. But Sandwich was close at hand, and being a very small town with a limited constituency, and no other resident gentry than the banker, the solicitor, and the clergyman, looked in some degree to me for guidance only, I believe, because the Duke had noticed me. At the General Election which followed the demise of George IV., Sandwich returned Mr. George Price, a barrister, and a sound, constitutional Tory, in opposition to Mr. Marriott, a city merchant, and a Whig. Mr. Price wisely refused to support Mr. Parnell and Sir Edward Knatchbull in their attack on the Civil List. Accordingly, when the change of Government took place, and Lord Grey's Reform Bill was brought in, Mr. Price gave to it, at every stage, an uncompromising opposition. Of this course, some of the leading men in Sandwich assured me that the bulk of the constituency approved, and no effort was wanting on my part to confirm them in the faith thus professed for them.

The dissolution in 1831 took us all by surprise, It showed us at the same time how inaccessible to argument the ministers were, and that only by

success at the hustings, which few were sanguine enough to expect, could what we held to be the first move in a great revolution be arrested. Alas, alas! we who had fostered such a dream found ourselves in a miserable minority. In some places Tory candidates refused to come forward at all; in others they no sooner perceived that the odds were against them, than they threw up the game; and a third section, after fighting the battle out, found themselves beaten, though not dishonoured. It was in reference to matters of this sort that the following letters were written to the Duke of Wellington:—

"ASH, NEAR WINGHAM, *May* 9, 1831.

"MY LORD DUKE,—Your Grace is of course aware of both the defeat of Mr. Price, and the withdrawal of Sir Edward Knatchbull. The latter event is, in my opinion, scarcely to be deplored, because Sir Edward had so committed himself on the subject of reform, that he could have done no good service had he succeeded in his election. The former is indeed a heavy blow. I have said to Mr. Arbuthnot, and I venture to repeat it to you, that at a crisis like the present, when talent and a thorough knowledge of the constitution are sorely needed in the House of Commons, a vacancy ought at almost any cost to be made for Mr. Price. He will more than repay whatever exertions are made in his behalf.—

Believe me to be, with the greatest respect and admiration, most truly your Grace's obliged servant, G. R. GLEIG."

"STRATHFIELDSAYE, *May* 13, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 9th only this morning. I was very sorry, indeed, for Mr. Price's disappointment. I assure you he is one of those I should be most anxious to see back in Parliament if it should ever be in my power to take any steps upon such a subject.

"The crisis is imminent, and the danger to the country very great and even certain. If the reform should not produce all the mischief which its enemies and best friends expect from it, it will occasion a woeful disappointment, and scenes of riot and plunder which the revolutionary members are very little able or disposed to meet. For the same reason, any opposition to it in the House of Lords will ensure the same scenes. The revolutionary members will not protect persons or property. There is no safety for, and there can exist no freedom of opinion. Since the dissolution of Parliament and the manner of it, the King has lost all authority, and must do as he is bid, and his revolutionary servants and the mob are at this moment threatening the gentry in all parts of the country. This is the point at which we have now arrived.

"In fact, the King and the Government, the Radicals, the Dissenters, and the mob are acting in a combination against the bulk of the property of the country, real and personal, the Church, and all the great religious, political, commercial, military, and naval establishments.

"I shall be in town to-morrow, and stay at all events till after Tuesday.—Believe me, ever yours most sincerely, WELLINGTON."

"LONDON, *June* 30, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—As far as I can form a judgment on the temper of the times, I should say that the fever of reform has passed away, and has been succeeded by an apathy in this town which is quite remarkable. Whether the fever will revive, or there will be counteraction, is more than I can tell. Only conceive, that on the day of the first reading of the Bill, not a word was said upon the subject in the newspapers, that not a soul was to be seen in the avenues of the Parliament, and that in the House of Commons, returned for the special purpose of passing this Bill, not a speech should have been fired off in support of it, on this first stage, except the one by the mover, Lord John Russell. The course pursued by the anti-reformers could not have produced this silence if there had existed any real feeling in the House in favour of the Bill. On the other hand, there were no petitions. For our sins, however, we shall have

the Bill through the Commons, notwithstanding the want of feeling in its favour there, and the dislike of it by every well-constituted man in this town, and I may say throughout the country.

"You will ask me what the House of Lords will do in that case. I should say that the House of Lords can reject it without risk of the imputation that it is opposing itself to the decidedly expressed wishes of the community at large; that its decision will be supported by many, I might say all whose judgment is worth a straw, and that it ought to take that course.

"I think that the House will take that course. Nay, more, I think the Government will be aware that that will be the fate of the Bill, and that they have made up their minds to reproduce that Bill, or to bring forward another early next year. You will see therefore that I don't think that we are likely to come to an election in Kent at an early period.

"My opinion is that the county of Kent will not be satisfied unless Sir E. Knatchbull is its member. Who the other, or the others, ought to be is a question with which I am not sufficiently informed to deal. But the information which I have given you of the state of the public mind here will suggest to you the course which it would be most expedient to pursue to influence the public mind in Kent.—Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON."

It had been proposed to establish in Kent constitutional societies in order to hold the party well together—whatever the fate of the pending measure might be; and I wrote to the Duke on the subject. Here is his answer:

"LONDON, *July* 4, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I quite concur in all that you suggest as steps to be taken, with the exception of the formation of societies. We must never forget the Roman Catholic Association in Ireland, or its various modifications and forms. There is nothing so easy as to give a society a constitutional title, and to hold out for it the most beneficent objects, and then to turn it to the most mischievous purposes. Those who have not had to deal with these mischievous societies are not aware, as we hacks are, of all that can be done with them. I don't think that I could belong to one that had the most innocent views and objects.

"You allude to the general policy of the Government. This, if there exist any policy apart from the Government, is a very large question. The distilling from molasses is a bad precedent, and will have the effect which you predicate, but they have not prepared the measure. They refer it for inquiry to a Committee of the House of Commons; that is to say, throw the responsibility from their own shoulders. The Irish Arms Act is a measure which we ought to support, but it is quite inconsistent with their representations of the state of

Ireland, and their views of Government in that country as held out to the public.

"In respect to their foreign affairs, they will undoubtedly have a general war in Europe, out of which it will be scarcely possible for this country to keep itself. I attribute this to their flirtation with France, and with the war party there, and to the want of confidence in the allies, and in the peace party in France and Belgium, and to the views and conduct of this country, which has been occasioned by the course which our ministers have followed. They have not advanced one step in the settlement of Belgium since the 30th November 1830.

"We are on the eve of an attack upon Portugal by France, which must terminate in our interference, or in the subjugation of Portugal by France.—Believe me, etc. WELLINGTON."

"CANTERBURY, *July* 14, 1831.

"MY LORD DUKE,—I am so far on my way home from Sir Edward Knatchbull's, whither I went yesterday for the purpose of pressing upon him the necessity of moving in times like these, and taking a lead in the matters about which I formerly wrote to you. I found him as usual, doubting, hesitating, distrustful whether we should do more harm than good, but at last I succeeded in showing him that if we do nothing, we must go to the wall; and should our efforts on the present occasion fail, we

we can only go to the wall at last. The result has been that he pledged himself to move heaven and earth in the good cause, and the following is the course which we propose to pursue.

"There is to be a large yeomanry meeting at Eastwell Park next week. Sir Edward has assured me that he will seize the opportunity to organise a regular system of petitions. The county is to be divided by parishes into so many districts, and from these will be sent up simultaneously such a load of petitions as you have not received for a very long time. In addition to this, a declaration will be drawn up to the effect that we are determined, with our influence, our lives, and our property, to defend the Constitution, the King, the Lords, and Commons. And the very day after you throw out the Bill, we will collect all the signatures we can and give it publication. The idea of forming a constitutional society is abandoned in deference to your Grace's opinion. You know my opinion of Knatchbull, but let me add this: though difficult to move, and wavering till his mind is made up, once he comes to a determination, there is no man more obstinate. I do not therefore at all doubt but that he will, in the present instance, give us all the assistance which his unquestionable influence in the county can afford.

"So much for local politics, and now a few words on general matters. We walked out after dinner into the garden, where, having first locked the door,

he opened his mind to me freely on the aspect of affairs. We spoke, of course, of the possibility of a change of ministers, etc., and I gather from him that he is ready to render every assistance in his power to your Grace, *personally*; indeed, he writes by this post to all his friends in other counties to give in their unequivocal adherence to you. So far, so good, for it is beyond dispute that, up to this moment, the recollections of the Catholic Relief Bill have operated cruelly in dividing the Conservative party. We talked next of men likely to take office in an administration of which your Grace might be the head, and I gathered that he would desire some place in the Cabinet. I think it right to tell you all this, because events may occur which shall render such knowledge useful, and I quite believe that you will not find any man more ready to adopt implicitly your views, in case such an arrangement should be effected. I need not add that I neither did nor could pretend to hold towards him any other than the most general language.

"I hope that I shall find, when I go home, a letter from your Grace announcing that the arrangement in favour of Mr. Grove Price is complete. I am sure he will be most useful at the present moment.—Believe me, etc.,

G. R. Gleig."

"LONDON, *July* 16, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 14th this morning. I cannot yet tell you that I have arranged the affair for Mr. Price. I pressed it again strongly yesterday, but it is not settled.

"You can judge as well as I can of the state of the Reform question in Parliament. The ministers are beat in argument. There is scarcely a member who speaks on any part of the subject, who does not state his apprehensions of some part or other of the Bill. But the majority still adhere by their votes to the whole of it, each individual declaring that, bad as the plan is, it is necessary to adopt it. The case of Alderman Thompson is that of more than one-half of the members of the present Parliament.

"They dare not vote according to the suggestions of their own judgment after discussion; they are sent as delegates for a particular purpose under particular instructions, and not members of Parliament sent to deliver it *de arduis regni*. Whether petitions presented at this moment would turn these delegates into members of Parliament, is more than I can say.

"I think it scarcely possible that the Bill can be out of the House of Commons in the month of July. This being the case, petitions in August would be in time. I should say that I would not move in respect to petitions to the House of Lords till the

time should approach when the Bill would come under discussion. The person who was to present such petitions would, of course, be able to choose the moment. But if once voted and signed in the county, we must not suppose that our adversaries would be so supine as not to set in motion all the means of getting counter-petitions, and even to create agitation in the county.

"From what I hear from all parts of the country, I should say that the feeling is the same as it is in Kent. It is doubtful whether they are as ready to declare themselves. But an example may do a good deal. I should doubt any prorogation of Parliament till the Reform Bills are decided. If the Government are not prepared to meet the difficulties in their House of Lords, they will probably adjourn both Houses.—Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON."

"LONDON, *July* 17, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Since I wrote to you yesterday, it occurs to me that there is one part of your letter to which I ought to have adverted in detail, and upon which I said nothing. It relates to the meeting of the yeomanry at Eastwell Park. As Lord-Lieutenant of Hampshire I have been under the necessity of desiring the commanding officers of some of the troops of yeomanry to refrain from addressing their troops as military bodies on political subjects, and even of talking of politics to

the men at all. I desired them to point out to the yeomanry that their duty is to obey; that the sphere of their service would probably be to preserve the peace of the country in aid of the civil powers, and that their duty must be performed whatever may be the policy of the Government and the legislation on any particular question, such as the reform of Parliament.

"At the time this doctrine was circulated, the stream of opinion in the country was running in favour of reform, while that of Parliament was supposed to be against the Bill in particular, but probably against any reform. Since that time I happen to know that the attention of the Government has been drawn to the subject by an address by Lady Verulam to a corps of yeomanry in Hertfordshire, in which her ladyship hoped they would protect her and the property of the country against the emissaries of the new opinions, or some such sentiment.

"The Secretary of State was much displeased with this speech, and said what is true enough, that Parliament would be very unwilling to defray the expense attending these corps of yeomanry if it was supposed they were to be arrayed against the opinion of Parliament. This statement will show you the difficulty of the case, and how important it is on every view of the subject that the yeomanry, as troops, should not be addressed upon it, or be called upon to express themselves. Indeed,

I should say that if the meeting at Eastwell Park is one of the yeomanry for the purpose of exercise as troops, that opportunity should not be taken of addressing them at all on political subjects. I wish that you would consider all this, and make the use of it that you think desirable.—Ever yours,

WELLINGTON."

"LONDON, *July* 18, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I enclose a letter I wrote to you yesterday, and wished to send by yesterday's mail, but Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was to have sent it, was out of the way. I had another conversation yesterday about Mr. Price's seat. It is wonderful that the persons who have the return of boroughs in their hands should be so anxious as they are to return young men of family. The greatest difficulty I have is to keep my son Charles out of their hands; they insist upon having him rather than anybody else. However, I have sent to Ireland in favour of Mr. George Price.—Yours, etc., WELLINGTON."

"ASH, NEAR WINGHAM, *July* 19, 1831.

"MY LORD DUKE,—I have received your Grace's letter of the 17th and 18th, and you may depend upon my doing what I can to hinder any rash speech from being spoken; but with Lord Winchelsea at the head of the meeting, it would be rash to make sure of moderation and judgment. I

hope, however, that he will be kept within bounds; and as there is reason to believe that hitherto the subject of politics has been avoided by the officers in their intercourse with the men, I see no reason why it should be introduced now. Still, as I have just said, nobody can answer for the event, and it is rendered doubly doubtful in consequence of the arrangements made. The yeomanry are to receive their colours on Thursday, with a speech from Lady Winchelsea. It is a mere toss up whether her ladyship shall desire to emulate Lady Verulam or avoid the rock on which the latter has split. I need scarcely add that it is not the intention of Sir Edward Knatchbull, or anybody else with whom I am acquainted, to say a word to the yeomanry on any topic whatever. We shall merely avail ourselves of a numerous assemblage of leading persons in the county to pave the way for future and simultaneous action.

"I am going to hazard an opinion and to ask a question or two, which your Grace will either answer or not as you see proper. It is evident that the Bill will come before your House with all its deformities. How do you intend to deal with it? Are you strong enough to throw it out? and if so, what tactics will be pursued?

"There are two modes of dealing with the Bill. Assuming the Conservative party to be true to itself and sufficiently powerful, you may either reject it at the second reading, thus taking all the

odium on yourselves, or you may permit it to go into Committee, and destroy it then in detail. If you adopt the latter course, you must be prepared to manufacture out of its ruins a Bill of your own, which will necessarily lead to a conference between the two Houses. No result will follow such conference, and so the amended Bill, being brought back to the lower House exactly as you have drawn it, and being there condemned, the blame of rejection will possibly be shared between the two Houses. It is not for me to offer an opinion in such a case, but I have reason to believe that there are many timid persons whom a direct refusal of the measure by the Lords would frighten out of their senses, but who, if they were led to believe in a disposition on the part of the Lords to give the subject due consideration, would give them a hearty support. Now, if I am right, and I think that I am not wrong, this latter device may be at least worthy of consideration.

"I am not surprised at the anxiety expressed to have a son of your Grace as member for any borough; but I do lament, on many accounts, that the mere qualification of good family should be rated so highly. It is not impossible that this fact may have contributed, with other causes, to the present madness. I will inform your Grace of all that occurs at Eastwell Park.—Believe me, etc.,

"G. R. GLEIG."

"ASH, NEAR WINGHAM, *July* 22, 1831.

"MY LORD DUKE,—The yeomanry meeting went off on the whole extremely well. Lady Winchelsea's speech, if not remarkable for any other quality, had at least the merit of not pressing upon the notice of the men any particular views with reference to disputed questions, and I am happy to add that, neither in the field nor at the dinner, was the subject of the Reform Bill introduced. I am led to believe, moreover, that the whole thing has done good. Though politics were wisely left out of the toasts, it was evident, from the manner in which the names of individuals were received—your Grace's, for example, as connected with the military glories of the country—that the feeling among the yeomen themselves was favourable to the Conservative principle. Lord Winchelsea gave your health with great apparent cordiality, and it was drunk with enthusiasm.

"Writing unreservedly to your Grace, as I venture to do, I feel bound to state that it is to you personally that the Tories of this county look as their head. Of Sir Robert Peel there is a decided distrust. I had almost said that the feeling bordered upon hostility, and, as far as I can learn, the same feeling prevails elsewhere than in Kent.

"Our Radical newspapers, our county papers I mean, have unwisely for themselves begun a series

of attacks upon the yeomanry. We shall not fail to turn these to account.—Believe me, etc.,

"G. R. GLEIG."

"LONDON, *July* 23, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 22nd. I am convinced that the line which I told you yesterday that I should follow in the House of Lords is the best, even if the object should be ultimately to secure a moderate reform. At all events I could not follow any other. I am aware that there exist great prejudices and strong dislikes against Sir Robert Peel.—Believe me, etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

"LONDON, *July* 30, 1831.

"*Private and confidential.*

"MY DEAR SIR,—I wish to draw your attention and that of your friends in Kent to what is passing in Parliament, and to the threats of the interference of the Common Hall of the City of London, the Birmingham unions, etc., etc.

"There can be no doubt that the deliberations of the House of Commons have opened the eyes of the public to the real nature of the Bill under discussion. I wish that you would consider whether it would not be possible for the gentlemen of Kent to come forward in case the Common Hall should interfere, or the Birmingham, or any other of these Radical unions.

"I would propose that they should state no opinion upon reform in general or upon the Bill, but declare that they will support Parliament in its deliberative functions.

"I think that something of this kind might be of use. I write into Hampshire to inquire whether anything of the same kind might be done there. If we can succeed, it is very desirable that we should proceed with secrecy, otherwise we might alarm our antagonists, and they would stop the Common Hall.—Believe me, etc., etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

"ASH, NEAR WINGHAM, *July* 31, 1831.

"MY LORD DUKE,—I have written by this post to Sir Edward Dering a confidential letter on the subject of your Grace's communication. To-morrow morning I will set out for Sir Edward Knatchbull in order to press the matter upon him, and I have requested Sir Brook Bridges and one or two others to dine with me to-morrow on my return, and I trust that we shall succeed. I have suggested the measure as one of prudence, and gone only so far as to say that I have reason to believe it will be acceptable to the heads of the Conservative party. —Believe me, etc., G. R. GLEIG."

"LONDON, *August* 3, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—By reference to the papers you will see that the Speaker has put down the attempt

to petition by the Radicals of Bristol and the Association of Birmingham, and that at a meeting of some of the Livery yesterday, it was determined that they should postpone the meeting of the Common Hall, and meet themselves at the end of a week, and consider whether they will call a meeting of the Common Hall if it should be thought necessary.

"It is quite obvious that they find that the public are not prepared for the system of bully proposed, and that it would do more harm than good to the cause of confusion. Under these circumstances I confess that I should doubt the expediency of coming forward at all. It would be like firing a great gun at a sparrow, which is not wise, and ought to be avoided.

"I think that the putting down these meetings is an evidence that the ministers are pretty confident that they will carry their measure, and it might be desirable to get some declaration of the country against them; but still I should say that, upon the whole, matters are not ripe.—Believe me, etc., etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

"ASH, NEAR WINGHAM, *August* 4, 1831.

"MY LORD DUKE,—Your Grace's letter has in some degree anticipated one which I had intended to write as soon as I perceived the issue of the Radical movement. It struck me that, under such circumstances, it would be prudent to lie still, and

I am happy to find that my judgment was correct. No steps of importance have been taken. Our plan has been communicated only to a few individuals worthy of trust, and we shall rest upon our oars till you desire us to go to work again.—Believe me, etc., etc., G. R. GLEIG."

CHAPTER VI

ALL this while unceasing efforts were made to obtain the support of at least one morning journal in London. The *Standard* indeed still supported the party, and *John Bull* was at once faithful and effective; but apart from these not a newspaper, whether published in the morning or the evening or once a week, but wrote up the great ministerial measure, and did its best to write down the characters of all who opposed it. There lies before me a whole pile of letters on this subject, of which I shall transcribe only a few, because the matter will be brought more appropriately under consideration when I come to speak of the great Duke's contemporaries. One attempt to secure the support of the *Morning Herald* had failed, under circumstances hereafter to be stated. Negotiations were then set on foot to purchase the *Ledger*, in which an active part was taken by Lord Mahon, while Billy Holmes was treating for the management of the *Albion*. It is to them, on our second endeavour to secure the *Herald*, that the following correspondence refers.

I had been called up to London to take part in

the deliberations of those to whom the management of this affair was entrusted, and after once or twice conferring personally with the Duke, returned home, leaving this letter behind me.

"ATHENÆUM, *Sept.* 9, 1831.

"*Private.*

"The affair of the *Ledger* is in train, and shall be so arranged that not a penny shall pass into the hands of the other party till our object has been accomplished. In the meanwhile we must get a fund ready, for Mr. J—— is not, I suspect, disposed to disgorge his £1000. I have not heard from him since I sent him the note of which I showed you the copy. I have settled with Lord Mahon that Mr. Clark shall have access to him in case of need. This will completely keep you, Sir Henry Hardinge, and myself out of sight, and Lord Mahon is fully to be trusted.

"With respect to the *Albion*, Lord M. and I have remonstrated with Holmes, and hope to get it into the hands of one of the cleverest fellows in London, Dr. Maginn, the co-editor with Giffard of the *Standard*. So much for our efforts with the press, after which the question naturally arises, Will all, supposing them to succeed beyond our wishes, avail? I am afraid not. I much fear, from what I hear and see around me, that there is such an obstinate perversity of intellect in a large portion

of the community, that nothing short of proving to them how faithless their leaders are, even to one another, will have the smallest effect. Even the rejection of the Bill by the Lords will be of little use, unless it be accompanied by other arrangements.

"Have you looked into the last number of *Blackwood*, and observed what is said there in the 'Noctes Ambrosianæ'? The speaker is made to say that the country might yet be saved were Lord Brougham and Peel cordially to unite. Now I confess that the same idea had occurred to me ever since I was made aware of the overtures that were made to your Grace. I am aware how painful it must be to a mind like yours to entertain the thought of acting with such a colleague; but if with so much at stake there be no chance of breaking up the present Cabinet, except by encouraging them to betray one another, even your high sense of honour might, I think, come under the influence of necessity. For it is not the mere acts of the Cabinet that we have to consider, but rather the new doctrines which the people are encouraged to imbibe under their guidance.

"Do not hesitate to send for me, whenever I can be of use, but unless really wanted, I could wish to remain quietly in the country for a week or two. I have been so often absent from my parish of late, a thing not usual with me, that I begin to fear I may lose something of the moral

influence there which I have heretofore exercised.—
Believe me, etc., G. R. GLEIG."

"LONDON, *Sept.* 17, 1831.

"I have received your letter of the 9th, when I was out of town the end of last week. I have since had a family misfortune, which, it is true, has long been expected. I have been out of town again, and I returned last night to resume the thread of affairs.

"There are such heavy calls for money for matters which press more urgently than those upon which we conversed, that I am afraid that I must postpone for the present the consideration of the latter. The subscriptions do not come in. I am afraid that, after all, we shall fail.

"I have two objections to the course which you propose. The first is one of conscience. I could not deceive any man. I prefer another to Lord B., whether as a debater in Parliament, an officer in a court of justice, or a colleague, or an honest man. The second is, that if there was no such preference, I could have no confidence in that gentleman. I cannot pretend that which I do not intend. All this may be very foolish. I may not be equal to the difficulties of the times, but I cannot help it. I believe that in these times, as in all times, honesty is the best policy, and adherence to principle the only true guide for one's conduct.—
Believe me, etc., WELLINGTON."

"ASH, NEAR WINGHAM, *September* 18, 1831.

"I do not know whether the line which you have made up your mind to follow is that which, at a crisis like the present, and amid such actors as crowd the stage, *will* lead to good; but this I do know, that it ought to lead to good. One thing, too, is quite certain, that if it were possible to increase the respect in which your Grace is already held, the sentiments expressed in your letter of yesterday's date would produce that effect. God help us well through our difficulties, for with such a King at the head of affairs, nothing short of a miracle can save us.—Believe me, etc.,

"G. R. GLEIG."

"LONDON, *September* 19, 1831.

"I have received your letter of yesterday. I never despair of anything, and I think that we shall get through our difficulties. I am convinced that I am on the right road; indeed, upon the only road that is practicable.—Believe me, etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

"STRATHFIELDSAYE, *October* 23, 1831.

"I received this morning your letter of the 21st. I received one yesterday from Lord Mahon upon the same subject, in which he told me that he was going to dine with you. I wrote him an answer yesterday.

"You have put the question on the right ground.

Can I recommend this arrangement respecting the *Morning Herald* to those noblemen and gentlemen of the party who have the means and might be disposed to subscribe for the paper? But I have reason to believe that the *Morning Herald* could not be sold. There is a Thwaites, or a person of some other name, with a claim to a share in the concern, who is a minor. The affair will get into Chancery, and in all probability all concerned will be blown upon as well as lose their money.

"But you will say that is the business of the gentlemen in the City who are about to buy the newspaper. We, the subscribers, will have nothing to do but to pay £5000 a year and give the tone to the politics of the paper. We must, as we did in the late proposed arrangement, give a sum in advance, which sum would be lost if the question respecting the paper gets into Chancery. It may not be lost as the last sum was, as I believe Mr Mallalieu to be an honest man. But if we encourage that arrangement with our eyes open to the risk, we must stand by some of the loss resulting from it, and our advances will be the smallest sacrifice expected from us. But this is not the only objection which I have to the proposed arrangement. Certain gentlemen propose to purchase the property of this paper and to alter the tone of its politics. Is this wise or otherwise in the view of men who intend to profit by the speculation? Will the paper extend its circula-

tion? Will it remain where it is? Will its circulation fall off? In the two former cases the real demand upon us would be but small, and we might satisfy it probably without any extensive subscription. In the last supposed case we ought to pay in proportion to the loss which the proprietors would sustain by the decrease of the circulation of the paper and of the profits. But if we do this, must we not engage for more than a year or even two years? Who will make such engagement? Observe that any subscription is demanded only because it is supposed that the tone of politics assumed by the paper will occasion a diminution of the number of its readers.

"In any view of the case, is not the sum of £5000 very large? I know that we were about to pay £6000 for a year, but we might discontinue when we pleased, giving a short notice. Our payments were to be monthly after the first two months, and to be made only after the performance of the contract. In this last case, however expensive, and with our eyes open to its enormity, we should have seen our way at every step, but in this recently proposed course we proceed entirely in the dark. I don't think that I ought to approve of such an arrangement with a view to its adoption by others.

"The mob could not get at the pictures in my gallery. They destroyed Lady Lyndhurst's picture in my room below-stairs.—Believe me, etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

Our efforts to secure the direct support of some of the London newspapers were not very successful. In the county we were more fortunate. The *Kentish Gazette*, much read by the middle classes, was gained over for a while, and when a falling off in its circulation caused it to change its tone, a new paper was started under the management of Mr. Mudford, formerly of the *Courier*, which still, I believe, advocates constitutional principles. But the tide ran too strong against us, and the action of the Lords, in rejecting the Bill on the second reading, led the way to scenes of violence and confusion which have long passed into history. History, however, is not quite fair in the account which it gives of this upheaving. During the brief interval in which all government lay in abeyance, matters came to light of which history has failed to take notice. Though no secret is now made of the correspondence between Mr. Attwood and Colonel Napier and Evans, silence has been completely preserved in regard to the provision of arms made by the unions for a hundred thousand men, as well as respecting the days and nights that were spent by the leaders of these unions in burning papers which, if they fell into the hands of a Conservative minister—as was at one moment likely to happen—would have placed more than one eminent individual in the felon's dock. In Kent we had no more violent demonstration than was manifested by the assemblage of crowds on Pennenden Heath and elsewhere in order

to denounce as enemies to their country the forty peers who had presumed to think for themselves, and, above all, their great leader, once the idol, now the enemy, of his country. But if Maidstone and Canterbury escaped the fate of Bristol and Nottingham, the acts of personal violence against individuals were bandied about, one of which, as it came somewhat circumstantially to my own knowledge, I felt myself bound to communicate to the object of it. The following is the answer received:—

"LONDON, *November* 7, 1831.

"MY DEAR MR. GLEIG,—I received your letter only yesterday morning on my road to London. It is my duty to go to Walmer and to Dover, and I am not to be prevented from doing so either by threats of injury or insult. What I always do in these cases is to give information to the magistrate. It is his duty to protect all his Majesty's subjects, particularly those acting under the King's authority, and even to take precautions for their protection, if necessary. It is my opinion that these secret informants, who will not and probably dare not come forward with their information, do more harm than good. There is a perpetual gossip going on in the public-houses upon all sorts of plans of mischief. Is it quite certain that these informants do not suggest the very plans of which

they give information? I intended to have been at Walmer this night, but a letter which I sent to announce my arrival did not go. I shall therefore set off to-morrow morning, and I hope to come early in the day. I suspect that those who will attack me on the road will come rather the worst out of the contest, if there should be one.—Ever yours, etc., WELLINGTON."

Notwithstanding the tone of this letter, I thought it prudent to communicate privately with a few gentlemen on whom I could rely, and to invite them to join me in providing a sort of body-guard for the Duke in his progress from Sandwich to Walmer. We were six in all, and each carried, besides a heavy hunting-whip, pistols; five men to wait in Sandwich, while I, mounting my horse, rode back to meet the Duke before he could reach Ash. I found him in his open calèche, provided with a brace of double-barrelled pistols, and having his servant likewise armed, seated on the box. He insisted on my giving my horse to his man, and entering the carriage with him. But when we reached Sandwich, I made the Duke's servant resume his place on the box, and while the horses were changed, sent forward three of my little party, directing them to avoid drawing attention by riding a couple of hundred yards or more in front of the carriage. In case a mob should be sighted, they were to pull up and wait till one who rode

after the carriage should overtake them. No mob appeared. Nor was the Duke's journey in any other way interfered with, so that the escort, after seeing him safe within the Castle grounds, had the satisfaction of feeling that they had done what was right, and no blood was shed.

How the winter of 1831-32 was spent I need not here describe. While mobs burnt towns and sacked gentlemen's houses, the King prorogued Parliament, and the Government made ready to introduce, after a brief recess, a third edition of the Bill into the House of Commons. It is not to be wondered at that, among the Lords who had joined in rejecting the former ministerial measure, there were those whom a dread of greater evils induced to consider whether the differences between the two parties in the State might not compromise. Two noblemen, both men of undoubted high honour and ability, Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe, placed themselves at the head of what soon became a movement. They not only wrote circulars inviting their brother-peers to co-operate with them, but they entered into negotiations with Earl Grey, and for a time were deluded into the expectation that he would consent to modify his measure in several important particulars. They found him unyielding, yet persisted in their efforts to secure a second reading for their Bill as it was. And persuading themselves that the King would in this case refuse to create peers, they counted on being able to

modify the measure for themselves. To this policy the Duke was thoroughly opposed. He rightly argued that if the King had been weak enough to agree to a large creation of peers at one stage of the dispute, he could not refuse to do the same at any other, at which the Government might receive a check; and he did his best by writing to as many of his friends as possible to secure their support when the day of battle came. From me he kept nothing back of all that was going on and expected, and by and by invited, me to work with him. The following letters explain how.

"LONDON, *February* 26, 1832.

"MY DEAR MR. GLEIG,—I send you Lord Harrowby's letter; you will see an abstract of it and some observations upon it in the *Times* of this day. I don't think it clear that much can be done upon it.—Believe me, etc., WELLINGTON."

"STRATHFIELDSAYE, *February* 29, 1832.

"MY DEAR MR. GLEIG,—I enclose a note from Mr. Escott which is very curious. I came here this day. If you should come to London and wish to see me, I wish that you would come down here. A coach comes from my house in London every morning at nine, and arrives here at three.—Believe me, etc., WELLINGTON."

"STRATHFIELDSAYE, *March* 2, 1832.

"MY DEAR MR. GLEIG,—I have received your note from Ash, dated 1st March. I wrote to you and suggested that you should come here. I think you would do more here in a day than at home in a week. I have no copy of my letter here excepting the original one, which you would never be able to make out.—Believe me, etc.,

WELLINGTON."

The purpose for which the Duke invited me to visit him at that time in Hampshire was that, out of materials which he could supply, I should write an answer to Lord Harrowby's circular, and publish it anonymously as a pamphlet. It was impossible for me, after all that had passed between us, to decline the task thus suggested. Indeed, I accepted the proposal at once, only pleading that I might be allowed to do the job at home. But the Duke was urgent, and I did as he wished me to do. It would scarcely be worth while to make this record, had not my journey to Strathfieldsaye brought me face to face with my old friend, the second Duke, then Lord Douro, under somewhat novel circumstances. We had often met at Walmer Castle when he commanded the depot of the second battalion of the Rifle Brigade, then quartered in Dover, and he had been my guest in the vicarage of Ash, where we shot together over the grounds of Betshanger, and

I gave him his first lesson in fly-fishing in the little Stour. Now proceeding to Apsley House, in order to be there taken up by the coach, I found that Lord Douro was in town, and, early as the hour was, had breakfasted. I went to his room and found him hard at work on the Archduke Charles's Campaigns, with a large map of the seat of war on the table before him. I mention this incident to show that, however anxious he may have been to pass current as an idler, he was at that time a student of his own profession. Poor fellow! he never did himself justice before the world, and the world arrived in consequence at very inaccurate conclusions respecting his tastes and character.

I will say nothing here about the pamphlet, or the circumstances attendant on its accomplishment, for of these notice may be taken elsewhere. But a few words descriptive of the tone which marked the Duke's conversation during my visit may without impropriety be given, for, after all, no pretence was made of secrecy, for which, indeed, all reason was wanting; and had the case been otherwise, I, who write these lines, am the last survivor of the party, and shall have followed the others who have preceded me, before what is written can see the light.

For the first two days our party consisted, besides the Duke, only of Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot and Lord Fitzgerald, Lord Charles Wellesley, and

myself. With these the Duke seemed to consider himself free from all restraint, and made no secret of the despondency with which he contemplated the future of the country. He was not sparing in his remarks on George IV., to whose lack of fidelity to his ministers he attributed most of the difficulties which he had been called upon to meet when in office. "And there is no excuse for him as there really is for his successor. George IV. was naturally an able man, and was by no means wanting in knowledge on all subjects, and especially on politics. But there was a moral twist in him which made it impossible quite to believe what he said at the moment, and still less to depend upon his promises. The Duke of Cumberland, though neither as clever as he, nor possessing a tittle of his general knowledge, had enormous influence over him, simply because he had, while the King had not, a strong will, and he exercised it while he was First Lord of the Treasury in the most mischievous manner. But for him the King never, after consenting to the Catholic Relief Bill, would have gone about complaining that he had been coerced, and thus blown the flame of anger among the ultra-Tories which destroyed me. Still his death, when it occurred, was a great misfortune. We could have got on with the Parliament which passed our Bill—ay, in spite of the Revolution in Paris. And I am convinced that in a short time our mode of dealing with Ireland would have healed all sores,

and ensured for the country a Liberal-Conservative Government for many years. But the King's death rendered a dissolution inevitable—a serious hazard of itself; and when, just as the elections were in full career, the French monarchy fell before the mob, there needed no gift of prophecy to foretell that, let come what might, there was an end of us."

MR. A. "But why did you resign on a question so unimportant as that raised by Parnell and Knatchbull? There are many precedents for submitting the civil list to the consideration of a committee of the House of Commons. Why, knowing as you did that out of such a scrutiny you would come with flying colours, could you not have assented to their proposal?"

"For two reasons. First, because we could not afford twice to avoid defeat by adopting the enemy's tactics. Remember the Test and Corporation Acts. And next, because we had Brougham's motion hanging over us, and we didn't care to be beaten on a question of reform."

LORD F. "True; and we felt that the Conservative party was broken up, for which, let me add, we have ourselves a good deal to answer. The Whigs have been wiser in their generation than their rivals. They never failed, whenever they had the means, to reward services rendered to their cause, whether by public or private patronage. We are too pure, forsooth, to act on that line, and now, see where we are."

DUKE. "We are not in a very flourishing condition, I allow, but I don't find the cause of the evil where you do. I have more experience in public affairs than most men, and you may rely upon it, that there never was any country or town, great or small, or any concern, whether important or otherwise, arranged upon an exclusive party principle. It may answer for a time, it may be necessary at certain seasons, but nothing can prosper permanently that is so managed. To tell you the truth, I believe that their exclusive party partialities and practices, however convenient and advantageous to some individuals, are one cause of the failure of the Whigs as public administrators. How they will get on hereafter, when cramped with the Radicals as colleagues, remains to be seen."

On the third day, a multitude of guests arrived, and the conversation at table, and everywhere else, became more general. We spoke of Napoleon and his marshals and of our own generals, concerning his estimate of most of whom, Mr. Croker, in his Diary, has stereotyped the character of one of our most dashing commanders, General Crawford.

CHAPTER VII

It was on these terms that I had the happiness and honour to live with the great Duke during one of the most important eras in the history of England. When all his endeavours, first to defeat, and by and by to modify the great measure, failed, our correspondence became, as a matter of course, less continuous, yet did not cease till circumstances hereafter to be mentioned caused a cloud, though not a dense one, to arise between us. Never, to the day of his death, however, did he cease to treat me kindly as often as we met, and though unable himself to advance me in my profession, he was indirectly instrumental in bringing me to London, on the invitation of a Whig minister. The cause was this.

After having taken part to the best of my ability against reform, I was very much surprised to receive one morning, in February 1834, a letter from Lord John Russell offering me the chaplaincy of Chelsea Hospital. My first impulse was at once to communicate with the Duke, and to ask for both advice and information, and in due time I received from him the following reply :—

"STRATHFIELDSAYE, *February* 12, 1834.

"I don't think it will be disagreeable to you or to any person to tell you what I know of your appointment.

"Lord John Russell inquired about you from Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who told him that he would apply to me about you. The object of the inquiry was to know whether you were a party writer. I desired Lord Fitzroy to tell Lord John that you, as most other good clergymen of the Church of England, were a zealous Conservative politician, but that I did not believe you had ever been a party writer; that when I was in office I was anxious to promote you, on account of your ecclesiastical works, and that I had earnestly urged on you by all means to avoid party discussions; that I never heard of your having engaged in them, and that I firmly believed you had not. I think you had better keep this anecdote to yourself.

"I shall be very sorry to lose your society at Walmer Castle, but I hope that I shall see you in London.—Believe me, etc., WELLINGTON."

I have placed on record this letter, not alone because it is due to the great Duke that it should be read by others than myself, but also because it enables me to place in its true light my own conduct under somewhat trying circumstances. No sooner was Lord

John Russell's offer to me made public, than he was furiously assailed, as well by the more violent members of his supporters in Parliament as by the Radical press in London and in the provinces. I was described as a party writer from my earliest days—especially in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and as the editor of more than one Kentish newspaper —as a Tory, in short, of the most rabid kind, who neglected his parish and made enemies of his parishioners. Not aware of this attack, I went to London in order to see whether the chaplaincy would suit my purpose; and having satisfied myself on that head, I proceeded, relying on the information which the Duke had given me, to wait upon Lord John. I found him more stiff than I had anticipated, and soon discovered the cause, for, without expressing the slightest regret at what had passed between us, he told me frankly how much the rumours that had reached him distressed him. A good deal taken aback, and not forgetful of the contents of the Duke's letter, I at once proposed that, under the circumstances, it would be best for both of us to consider the offer of the chaplaincy as withdrawn, and he went on to say it would, however, greatly relieve him if I could refute what he was pleased to call these calumnies. So I told him at once exactly how the case stood. I had never written a public article for *Blackwood* in my life. I had been no party writer, much less editor of any newspaper, either in Kent or else-

where, till the reform question came to the front, and that then believing as I did, that the measure would prove fatal to the best interests of the country, I opposed it in every way, and wrote against it in one local newspaper. That question was, however, settled, and from the moment the Bill passed into law I had withdrawn entirely from politics. Lord John thanked me for the explanation I had given, saying that it quite agreed with what he had heard of me from other quarters.

I returned home, feeling that I had done justice to all concerned—to Lord John, who had made the offer; to the Duke, on whose advice I had accepted it; and to both them and myself, in explaining exactly how far I could be regarded as a party writer. But in a day or two I received a letter from Lord John, in which he informed me that he had been again assailed by rumours which were to him so unpleasant that he must beg of me to give him in writing the same explanation I had given him by word of mouth. I felt no hesitation in complying with his request, and the consequence was the appearance in the *John Bull*, and I think in the *Standard*, of the following letter, sent to them promptly through Lord John:—

"Sir,—I gather from a paragraph in yesterday's *Standard*, that the *Times* and *Morning Chronicle* have gone out of their way to vituperate Lord John Russell and myself, because his lordship has

thought proper to present me to the chaplaincy of Chelsea Hospital. Were I alone attacked, I should not trouble you with any counter-statement. In justice, however, to Lord John Russell, I beg to assure you, first, that I never wrote a political article in *Blackwood's Magazine* in my life; and, secondly, that I am not, nor ever was, the editor of any newspaper, either in Kent or elsewhere. With respect to my professional merits or demerits, I beg to refer you to my Diocesan, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as to those among whom I have lived and laboured for upwards of twelve years.

"I do not deny that my political principles are different from those of the *Times* and the *Morning Chronicle*, and that during the agitation of a question more momentous than has come under discussion in this country since the Revolution, I felt, as I believe all reflecting men did, warmly. I plead guilty also to having written various papers against the Reform Bill; but the measure being carried, I ceased to make politics in any shape the subject of my literary labours, because I have always believed that it is my duty as a clergyman to set an example to those around me of obedience to the laws.

"If there be anything in this which renders me unworthy to receive preferment, I confess that I cannot discover it, and much more am I at a loss to conceive how Lord John Russell should incur

the hostility of a Liberal press, because of his unsolicited offer of patronage to one who holds these opinions."

May I be pardoned, if, in order to bring this episode to a close, I state, that my letter to the newspapers proved satisfactory to Lord John, and that having sent him a little volume of my sermons which I had preached in Ash Church, and afterwards published, I received from him the following acknowledgment:—

"WILTON CRESCENT, *March* 30, 1834.

"DEAR SIR,—I ought to have thanked you for the present of a copy of your sermons—indeed I should have done so, but that I wished to have an opportunity of reading them, and this, with my occupations, was not very easy to find. Now that I am acquainted with their merits, I am the better able to assure you that I appreciate very highly the value of your discourses, and to add my humble advice that you will continue in this course, by which you may not only be of essential service to the veterans of Chelsea, but likewise to our active forces in every part of the world.—I remain, very faithfully yours, JOHN RUSSELL."

Agreeable as was to me the prospect of living in London, comprehending, as Johnson said of it, "the whole of human life in all its varieties," I did not turn my back on Ash without a pang. I had

resided there for twelve years on terms of warm friendship with all classes—there was no dissenting chapel in the parish—a good deal to say of a place containing two thousand inhabitants, and the church was crowded as often as services were performed. It soon appeared likewise that the active part I had taken in opposition to the Reform Bill had not lost me the good opinion even of those whose views on that subject were different from my own, for a movement was set on foot to present me with a parting gift, the subscriptions towards which soon amounted to £80. There was no squire in the place, and the class of farmers and thriving tradesmen did not number more than about a dozen persons, and of these only two held back.

But what was lacking elsewhere the penny subscriptions of the labouring people and small shopkeepers made good, and a handsome silver epergne was purchased. Then followed a dinner at the Ship Inn, and a presentation, attended with speeches, all of them from the heart. I look back at this day with infinite satisfaction on the refutation thereby given to the slanders of the Liberal press, and trust that the piece of plate thus received will never pass out of my family, so long as there remains man or woman to represent it.

It is a curious coincidence, and, to me, most gratifying, that while in my ninetieth year I am putting on record events such as these, I should find myself deep in a correspondence with several

of the inhabitants of Ash, and learn from them, that though few of my contemporaries in point of age survive, I am still remembered with affection and respect in the parish. This I attribute to the manner of my daily intercourse with their parents, quite as much as to the fidelity with which I endeavoured to discharge my duties among them; for though they were two thousand in number, I knew them all by name, and greeted them on every occasion, whether in their own houses or elsewhere, as if they had been connected with me by some tie of kindred. Hence, though all did not take the same view that I did of the Reform question, there never arose the slightest personal estrangement on either side, and when the strife came to an end, all who had the right to vote went with me to the poll.

It would have been idle to expect that, as chaplain to the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, I should see as much of the great Duke, or enjoy so large a share of his confidence, as I did while residing within eight miles of Walmer Castle. Indeed, the time and occasion of special confidence between men moving in spheres so different were passed. Not that he seemed to consider himself as bound to reticence on any subject that cropped up when I was his guest, either singly, or in a crowd. But he spoke the truth when he assured Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and, through him, Lord John Russell, that he was always averse to my mixing myself up in any way with the strifes of parties. This did

not prevent him, however, from telling me that Sir Robert Peel had gone abroad in 1835 contrary to his advice, because he was satisfied that the King waited only for a convenient opportunity of getting rid of Lord Melbourne's administration, and that, in his opinion, Sir Robert ought to have been within earshot at the time of Lord Spencer's death, and the removal of Lord Althorp to the House of Lords, to help the King in the exercise of his prerogative. He even went so far, on one occasion, as to express regret that Sir Robert had not followed the example of Pitt in 1784, and held on against a small majority in the Commons, having the King and the Lords, and the wealth and intelligence of the country at his back. But never again did he invite me to act with him or his party either by my pen or otherwise. Indeed, he went so far, after the publication of the *Chronicles of Waltham*, as to censure as imprudent on my part some expressions in that book, which were liable to be treated as attacks on the Liberals—as a body. Thus our intercourse became simply that of kindness and consideration on his part, and of grateful devotion on mine, for he had very much gratified me on one occasion by standing godfather to one of my sons, and he did me a substantial favour by giving to another a presentation to the Charterhouse, and subsequently appointing him to a Highland regiment, in which, at the early age of twenty-one, he became a captain.

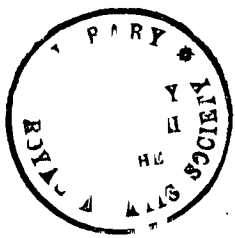
Few letters passed between us, though our epistolary correspondence did not entirely cease, for besides seeing him often in London, I more than once visited him both at Strathfieldsaye and at Walmer Castle, from the latter of which places there is in my collection a note which tells me: "Your friends in this part of the country regret you much, and none more so than yours, most sincerely, WELLINGTON."

I must therefore content myself hereafter with speaking of him and his fortunes in such general terms as befit a looker-on from whom the curtain was only partially withdrawn.

END OF BOOK I

BOOK II

OF THE DUKE'S PLACES OF RESIDENCE, AND SOME OF THOSE WHO VISITED HIM



CHAPTER I

FROM the date of Lord Liverpool's death to his own demise, the Duke was accustomed to dispense his hospitalities in one or other of his mansions. Apsley House became his town residence by purchase from his brother, Lord Wellesley, in 1816. By an expenditure of £90,000, or thereabouts, he made it what it is, an extremely comfortable, though scarcely a palatial abode. He was his own architect, and thence one or two peculiarities, as, for example, stabling approached by a sort of tunnel passed under the house, and a hall pitched at a level which left no room for Canova's colossal statue of Napoleon, except in an out-of-the-way corner under the main staircase. There, during the London season, took place his great entertainments—the Waterloo banquet; dinners to royalties, diplomatic bodies, and Cabinet ministers; balls, routs, and such like—at some of which were exhibited displays of gold and silver and precious china, more gorgeous than any other subject of the British or other European Crown could exhibit. In Apsley House, however, the Duke may be said to have been always playing a part. Mornings occupied in public business—now in his own study, now at the

Ordnance Office or the Horse Guards, now in the House of Lords—were followed, evening after evening, by attendance at gatherings, when crowds of well-dressed ladies and gentlemen met to make themselves as agreeable as possible to one another. They who encountered the Duke only amid this whirl saw but the outside of the man. His subordinates, whether in Pall Mall or Whitehall, found in him, no doubt, a perfect master of the business in which they were engaged. But to the casual acquaintance he appeared in the light of a well-bred man of fashion, remarkable chiefly for the ease and grace with which he received the respectful attentions of all who approached him. I speak of him, of course, as I myself found him, after he honoured me with personal notice. Others said of him, and I believe said truly, that when he first entered into what is called London society, having spent the best part of his life in camps, his manners were somewhat rough. So at all events writes Baron Stockmar, whose acquaintance with him began as early as the marriage of Princess Charlotte of Wales. But, whatever may have been the case in 1817, in 1828 all traces of the rude training of camp life had disappeared. It was, however, elsewhere than in the artificial atmosphere of London that you must have needs sought the Duke, if you desired to see him in a natural light, and to the other houses to which reference has been made we shall accordingly follow him.

STRATFIELDSAYE.

Strathfieldsaye, the gift of a grateful nation to one who had rendered to his country and to Europe more important services than any man of his age, was purchased in 1817 from Lord Rivers, and settled by Act of Parliament on the Dukes of Wellington for ever. The trustees appointed to guard the appanage from abuse were the Lord Chancellor, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Speaker of the House of Commons for the time being. The price paid for the article was £500,000, and the conditions under which it was held were stringent. The incumbent, whosoever he might be, is prohibited, not only from selling an acre of the land, but from cutting down a single tree except with the consent of the trustees. Such consent having been given, he is required to render a strict account of the produce of the sales, in order that a portion of the purchase-money may be set aside as a provision for the younger children. The estate is a valuable one, abundantly, perhaps over-timbered, and in the park are noble avenues of elm and oak, one of them exactly a mile in length. There is much variety of rise and fall in the scenery, to the beauty of which the river Loddon, enlarged into something like a lake where it passes the house at a distance of perhaps three hundred yards, adds not a little. As to the house itself, the most that can be said of it is, that it is a fair specimen of the taste of the early Georgian era, during which it was built. Looking at it, as you approach the

main entrance, you see only a narrow frontage rising two stories from the ground, with all the offices, stables, dog-kennels, servants' lodgings, tennis-court, etc., separated from the porch by a circular patch of turf round which runs the road. In the rear, that is to say facing the river, the edifice is rather more imposing; but what it gains in amplitude is somewhat marred by the absence of proportional height, and the coat of yellow plaster with which all the outer walls are covered suggests the idea, not an idle one, that the materials composing them are neither substantial nor likely to be durable. It is right to add that the interior more than fulfils the expectations that had been raised by a contemplation of the exterior. There is a noble hall open to the ceiling, and the living-rooms, though narrow and low in the roof, are extremely comfortable. They run off into long galleries of which the effect is good, and the bedrooms are both numerous and convenient. Among other arrangements contemplated when Parliament voted the sum necessary for endowing the dukedom, was one for building a house which should rival in the grandeur of its details the ducal palace at Woodstock. It is to be regretted, having this object in view, that the agents entrusted with the duty of purchasing a domain had not been instructed to make an offer for Sir John Cope's magnificent place, Bramshill. There they would have found ready to their hands a mansion which James I. is

said to have built for Prince Henry. Either the mistaken idea that Sir John would be unwilling to sell, or a belief that the land at Strathfieldsaye was greatly superior in quality to that of Bramshill, hindered them from looking beyond Lord Rivers's estate. The Duke, delighted with the contour of Strathfieldsaye Park, and especially with its long avenues, entirely approved their decision, and set his architect to work, preparing plans for the new house which was to replace the old one. When I mention, however, that the charge for the plans alone, and they were drawn in full, amounted to £700, an idea may be formed of the enormous sum that would have been required had the work been executed. The Duke wisely contented himself, under the circumstances, with purchasing and rebuilding Apsley House, and taking possession of the house at Strathfieldsaye exactly as he found it, pronounced it to be as convenient and comfortable a place of abode as any man could wish to inhabit.

Though considerably more free from restraint at Strathfieldsaye than in London, the Duke was still a good deal encumbered when there with social as well as official duties. It was during the winter months that for the most part he resided in Hampshire, and then came at intervals royal and other sportsmen, to kill his game and share his hospitalities. He was likewise Lord-Lieutenant of the County; and however light most of the duties of that functionary might be, they were all attended

to with the greatest punctuality. Indeed, so far was he accustomed to carry his devotion to the Crown, whose representative he held himself to be, that, postponing all other claims on his attention, he made a point of receiving the Judges and entertaining them at Strathfieldsaye House as often as they came on to the county on circuit. On the other hand, when his guests consisted only of intimate friends, and all the calls of duty were attended to, the Duke threw restraint and artificial manners behind him. He hunted three or four days in the week—now with Sir John Cope's, now with the Vine hounds, to the maintenance of both of which he contributed liberally. With his immediate neighbours, if I except Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, first one of the members for the county, and, after the passing of the Reform Act, Speaker of the House of Commons, he held little familiar intercourse. Indeed, almost the only local gentry you met at his table were his nephew, the rector of the parish, and Mr. Briscall, the curate, in connection with each of whom there were circumstances not perhaps undeserving of notice.

Lord Rivers, while owner of Strathfieldsaye, presented to the rectory Mr. Bastard, a gentleman who had married his natural daughter. A year or two afterwards, another rectory of which he was patron fell vacant in Gloucestershire, and to that also Lord Rivers presented his son-in-law. Unfortunately for Mr. Bastard, the value of the new

benefice was too great to allow his retaining the old, and in order to meet the requirements of the law, he resigned Strathfieldsaye. But those were times when ecclesiastics made wonderfully free with both law and decorum, and Mr. Bastard accordingly accepted a fresh presentation to his Hampshire benefice, in the not unnatural expectation that the blot would never be hit, nor himself disturbed in his comfortable plurality. Things remained in this state for many years after the Duke became Lord of Strathfieldsaye. It never entered into his head to suspect that the non-resident rector was in truth an intruder, and so long as the duty was done, whether efficiently or not is another question, he allowed things to take their course. And the duty was done in a way peculiar to himself by the Rev. Mr. Briscall, who, after serving through a large portion of the Peninsular War, as chaplain at headquarters, was well pleased, in default of better preferment, to accept a curacy which brought him once more into close relationship with his former chief. Briscall was a man of refined manners and a good presence. The Duke in his despatches speaks favourably of him, especially on the ground that he kept down Methodism in the army. I believe he did more than this, by performing divine service every Sunday, so long as the troops occupied winter-quarters, though I and many more never saw him but once, and then could not hear a word he said.

But a constitutional shrinking from encounters with pain and sickness kept him from visiting the hospitals; and as to reading the burial service over the dead, that, during the wars of the French Revolution, was a thing unheard of. Into huge pits dug to receive them the slain in battle were cast, as manure is cast into a trench, and the victims of fever and privations were in a somewhat similar fashion disposed of. Even the officers, though interred apart, had no prayers read beside their graves, for this, among other reasons, that the chaplains of the army were very few in number, and of these few, not one, so far as I know, cared to make more than a convenience of the service.

Mr. Briscall, whom the Duke had more than once recommended to Lord Liverpool for preferment in the Church, was, when I made his acquaintance, a chaplain to the forces on half-pay, and curate of Strathfieldsaye. His habits were somewhat eccentric and his manners agreeable, but he had a nervous fear of infection, and could not bring himself, be the case what it might, to visit a dying parishioner. He dined every day at the big house whenever the Duke was in residence, and with the same regularity if the Duchess were there alone. Poor fellow, though his ostensible expenses were moderate enough, he was always in debt, and ready at any moment to give a note of hand in exchange for a loan to any one who might be good-natured enough to accommodate him. He was less

regular in repaying than in borrowing, and lacked judgment to discriminate between those with whom this system might be pursued with impunity and those to whom it would present itself in the guise of fraud. Now the Duke was the most particular of men in money matters. Liberal he was in his gifts to such as begged from him, as will be shown more at length by and by, but for debts to tradesmen he made no allowance, and he looked upon the man who put off a creditor with a note of hand, without being sure that he would be in a condition to take it up when due, as little better than a swindler. In an evil hour for himself, Mr. Briscall borrowed £500 from the Duke, giving him a note of hand payable in six months. The six months ran their course, no settlement of accounts took place, nor was any explanation offered for the causes of delay, and the Duke, while he took no open notice of the matter, treated Mr. Briscall ever after with marked coldness. The curate remained, indeed, in the rectory, and dined as usual, day after day, with the lord of the manor, but the lord of the manor took no more notice of him, either at table or afterwards, than as if he had not been present.

I have told this story because the sequel to it illustrates, in my opinion, a marked peculiarity in the Duke's idiosyncrasy.

The money affair was a private matter between Mr. Briscall and himself. As the individual out-

raged, he showed his displeasure in the manner here described. But a blunder in private life could not make the Duke forget what he believed to be an official's claim, on account of services rendered to the country and the Government. Hence, one of his first acts after becoming Prime Minister was to offer Mr. Briscall a stall, either in Worcester or in Lincoln, I forget which. The offer was gratefully accepted, and Mr. Briscall looked forward to spending the rest of his life in the enjoyment of what was then a dignified sinecure. He did not calculate aright the strength of the Duke's allegiance to the principle of aristocracy, another of that great man's marked peculiarities. Within a day of his conversation with Mr. Briscall, the Prime Minister received a letter from the Duke of Beaufort asking for the vacant stall. It happened that there was at this time a living in the fens of Lincolnshire of equal, if not greater pecuniary value, at the disposal of the Crown. The Duke sent at once for Mr. Briscall, and telling him he would be glad if he, Mr. Briscall, would accept the benefice, and thereby enable him to oblige the Duke of Beaufort, Briscall felt that he could meet the proposal only in one way. The stall was given to Lord W. Somerset, the Lincolnshire benefice to Mr. Briscall, who found both the situation and the duty so uncongenial, that he was obliged, after a brief experience of both, to apply for a licence of non-residence. This he got, and died, after I became chaplain-general, assistant

chaplain to the garrison of Chatham, leaving heavy debts unpaid behind him.

Meanwhile another incident, not less characteristic of the Duke's habits of thought, may be worth relating. Mr. Bastard, as has just been said, though resident on his benefice in Gloucestershire, still retained the rectory at Strathfieldsaye, and more than that rectory. His father-in-law, in presenting him to Strathfieldsaye, had added to it the adjoining rectory of Turgis, of which the gross annual value might amount to £600. Now, as Strathfieldsaye was thus computed to be worth £1000, Mr. Bastard had every right to consider himself amply provided for. But whatever his views might be, his patron thought otherwise, and the Gloucestershire living, with its superior house and glebe, became, by the process already described, a substantial addition to the son-in-law's income. For a good many years the fortunate incumbent of the three rectories rejoiced in his pluralities, and would have probably done so till the day of his death but for an accident. Gerald Wellesley, the Duke's nephew, whom his uncle had in some sense educated with his own sons, took orders, and was, while yet a young man, chosen by Dr. Van Mildert, Bishop of Durham, to be his domestic chaplain. It chanced that some member of the Episcopal staff, I think it was the Chancellor, had a taste for ferreting out mistakes in the administration of Church affairs, and having learnt that the Bishop's

chaplain would have been rector of Strathfieldsaye, had the benefice not fallen vacant during Lord Rivers's time, he looked into the conditions on which Mr. Bastard kept Mr. Wellesley out of his inheritance, and found them to be inadequate. The old law relating to pluralities was lax enough, but it did not sanction the retention of two benefices in Hampshire by the incumbent of a living in Gloucestershire so valuable as that to which Mr. Bastard had been presented. The effect of his induction into the latter caused an immediate lapse of the former, his continued retention of which was an illegal act, persevered in, doubtless, through inadvertence.

Informed of all this, and instructed as to his own rights, the Duke was neither tardy nor ungenerous in acting upon them. He might have carried Mr. Bastard at once into Court, in which case Mr. Bastard would have been compelled, not only to surrender his benefices, but to refund the revenues derived from them during the past seven years. This he did not do, but, pointing out that such a course was open to him, he invited Mr. Bastard to resign, which Mr. Bastard wisely and properly did. Mr. Wellesley thereupon became incumbent of the rectories of Strathfieldsaye and Turgis, and retained them, much to his own credit and the benefit of his parishioners, till transferred to the deanery of Windsor.

We come now to the third and latest acquired of

the Duke's three houses, and that in which, I may add, without the smallest hesitation, he most delighted to find himself. Walmer Castle, the most perfect specimen extant of fortresses built in the reign of Henry VIII., stands upon the margin of the sea, at a distance from Dover on the one side of six or seven miles, and from Deal on the other about two. It is one of three which were designed for the protection, not only of the coast, but of merchant-vessels navigating the Straits, and this service they performed in their day with tolerable efficiency. Indeed, down to the introduction of steam and 40-pounder guns, they could still be of some use in covering traders which at full tide might run close inshore and anchor under their lee. They are quite worthless now as places of strength, and one, Sandown Castle, the sea has entirely swept away. In 1828, however, all three existed, and all were occupied. Sandown, the most northerly of the group, stood about three miles from Deal, in the direction of Sandwich. Though equally with the castles of Deal and of Walmer placed nominally under the charge of a captain, it gave quarters to a detachment of the Coast-guard, and continued to do so till it became a ruin. Deal Castle can still boast of its strong stone walls, its circular bastions, its moat, drawbridge, and even of a battery looking seaward; but successive captains have piled up such a mass of modern buildings within the ramparts as in a

great degree to mar its symmetry as a fortress. Walmer has escaped this sore blemish. A modern superstructure, erected, I believe, by Mr. Pitt, scarcely raises its modest head above the level of the parapet, and thus while adding to the house a comfortable dining and drawing room, it in no degree spoils the contour of the edifice. These two castles stand apart, with an interval between of perhaps a mile and a half, and are in every respect exactly alike, except that the town comes close up to the outer edge of the ditch at Deal Castle, while Walmer, separated from the village of that name, stands within a paddock of perhaps twenty acres in extent, and, considering the effect of sea-air on timber, well wooded.

Walmer Castle is now, and has been for many years, the official residence of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. The office itself is as old as the days of the Conqueror, being contemporary with that of the Constable of Dover Castle, a high officer of State, to whom was assigned the governorship of what were then the five principal ports or harbours in the Channel. The five towns, which originally made up the Cinque Ports, were Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich. To these by and by came to be added Winchelsea and Rye as principals; and later still, other places, viz. Sandgate and Deal, became offshoots from the particular ports to which they stood nearest, and therefore partook both in their obligations and

their privileges. These, in old times, were considerable. Each port was required to provide, equip, and man a given number of ships for the King's service. This put a considerable strain upon their resources, but the strain was in some degree compensated for by the exemption of the inhabitants from the payments of subsidies, and from answering in any other courts than their own for their proceedings. Nor was this all. To each Cinque Port—and the title remained after the five ports had grown into seven—was awarded the right of returning a member to Parliament, while to the Barons, as certain local magnates were called, was assigned the honour of bearing the canopy over the King's head at his coronation, and of partaking in the feast which followed that ceremony at a table placed by itself apart on the King's right hand.

The glories of the Cinque Ports had faded considerably in 1828, when the Duke became Warden. They had ceased to keep watch and ward over the safe navigations of the Channel, and were in consequence held liable to the same public burdens as were borne by their countrymen in general. But to one of their privileges they wisely adhered. Each port still returned its member to Parliament, and hence the Royal Navy, though no longer largely recruited from among their citizens, added not a few of the sons of the Cinque Port boroughs to the list of distinguished admirals and captains. Dover Castle, likewise, still boasted of its Constable, who,

residing at Walmer, made over both his apartments and the responsibilities of his office to a deputy. From him the Guards—for a garrison of regular troops held the place—received day by day the countersign, and a Cinque Ports jail afforded accommodation to Cinque Ports debtors, the tinkling of whose bell, let down from their prison-house, perched above the zigzag roadway leading to the main entrance, appealed for alms to every well-dressed person who approached the castle gate. Nor as yet had the Lord Warden been deprived of his right, both to collect the droits of Admiralty and to appoint chartered pilots, to refuse the services of whom, when bound for the Thames, or any other harbour within the ancient limits of the Warden's jurisdiction, would have subjected the masters of trading vessels to a heavy penalty. Besides all which, the Lord Warden exercised within the same limits the authority of Lord-Lieutenant. By him justices of the peace were nominated, having jurisdiction coincident with that of the mayors and aldermen in chartered boroughs. And had there existed then, as during the French War there did exist, corps of Cinque Ports militia and volunteers, in him would still have been vested authority to appoint the officers. In one not unimportant respect, however, the Lord Warden's position fell short of what it used to be, even in Lord Liverpool's time. The salary of £4000 a year came to him no more. Like

lieutenantcies and sheriffdoms of counties, his office was honorary so far, that it carried with it no other substantial benefit than the right to inhabit, whenever he chose, one of the most agreeable marine residences in England.

To this charming seaside home the Duke took flight, usually about the middle of September, and rarely left it, unless called away by what he held to be duty, before the beginning of November. The signal of his arrival to the country round was the hoisting of the union-jack, which all orders and degrees of men, prior to the outbreak of the Reform mania, hailed with satisfaction. For not less at Walmer than elsewhere was the Duke scrupulously careful to discharge the obligations of his office, and to distribute among the tradesmen of the place, the butchers, bakers, and such like, his custom, without any regard to party politics. At the Court of Loadmanage, which met from time to time at Dover, for the appointment of pilots and other business connected with the ports, he was a regular attendant—controlling and guiding the consultations of the Barons with as much care as if he had been chairman of committees in the House of Lords. But more than this. He hunted with a pack of harriers which were kept at a neighbouring farmhouse; shot occasionally, though partridges were scarce, over the Walmer manor, and dispensed a generous hospitality to the naval and military officers within reach, as well as to such guests from

a distance, as shoal after shoal volunteered visits or accepted his invitations. Of some of these latter, whom I was privileged to meet either at Walmer, or Strathfieldsaye, or at both places, I now propose to speak in connection with our host, just as they made an impression upon me at the moment, and more in detail of others, for an intimate acquaintance of whom future opportunities were afforded me.

CHAPTER II

THE DUKE'S FOREIGN GUESTS

A KINDER or more considerate host than the great Duke of Wellington could not be. He made you at home in the happiest manner possible by leaving you throughout the greater part of the day to take care of yourself, and making it optional whether you would or would not join any combined excursion that might be proposed. As to his table, it was in every respect such as became his position. His cook, a Frenchman, who had once been in the service of Napoleon I., knew perfectly well both how to select the materials for a banquet and how to deal with them when chosen. His wines also were excellent, though, strange to say, his cellars contained but a scanty supply at any given moment. Indeed, it was his custom both in town and country to lay in from time to time just as many dozens of wine of different sorts as would suffice for a month or six weeks' consumption. They were all mellow and ripe, because he paid large prices for them, yet, so far as he was himself concerned, the oldest could not have been more than a couple of months in his possession. Of his reasons for thus acting he made

no secret, and he acted in a similar manner with every consumable article required in housekeeping. "At one time," he said, "I used to do as others do—gave my orders to the house-steward, and handed him the money to pay the bills as he presented them to me. This went on for a year or two, when, to my surprise and disgust, I got letters from tradesmen humbly begging I would settle their accounts which had been long standing. I found, upon inquiry, that the fellow had been gambling with my money, leaving my creditors unpaid; and from that day to this, I have made it a point to pay my own bills, and to keep my accounts with tradesmen as short as possible."

Of the distinguished foreigners to whom his invitations extended, by far the greater number used to visit him at Walmer Castle. This was natural enough, because Walmer lies but a little way out of the direct route from London to the Continent, and it was usual for ambassadors and foreign princes and princesses to travel homewards just about the time the Duke was accustomed to betake himself to the seaside. Even to set down in order the names and titles of all who, from time to time, made Walmer Castle their halting-place would be to make out a bead-roll of celebrities. I shall content myself therefore with noticing only two or three, in whom, for obvious reasons, I was led to take special interest.

Foremost among these may be placed Monsieur Talleyrand, ex-Bishop of Autun, and successively

high officer of State under the Directory, under the Consulate, under the First Empire, under the Restoration, and, finally, under the Citizen King. The Duke, at the period when I first met this remarkable man at Walmer Castle, was Prime Minister of England, and Talleyrand, Ambassador from the Court of Louis XVIII. to that of St. James. Of his varied career it would be ridiculous, in a sketch like this, to attempt an account, were it indeed possible to add as yet any details worth recording to those already known. Even of his personal appearance it may seem well-nigh superfluous to speak. A flat head, covered with a mass of perfectly white hair, which, combed down over the forehead, gave to it the appearance of being preternaturally low, contradicted the received theories which make a lofty brow and oval crown the outward and visible signs of genius. His eyes, small, black, and sunken in their sockets, were surmounted by bushy eyebrows perfectly black and straight. A nose short and retroussé, a complexion ashy pale rather than sallow, and a chin strongly marked, made up a countenance which, when in repose, was well-nigh repulsive. At intervals, when some brilliant or cynical thought struck him, it would light up; but these intervals occurred rarely, because in society he was habitually taciturn, taking no part, and apparently little interest, in the general conversation which went on around him. If, however, anything were said,

which seemed to him to present an opening for a clever or cutting remark, he rarely failed to take advantage of it, and the effect upon the company was telling. Nor was it possible, in public at least, to lure him into an argument. That he could hold his own at proper seasons with the most acute of diplomatists, all the world was persuaded; but grave discussion he considered to be inimical to digestion, and he therefore made a point of avoiding it, both when eating and after eating, which he held to be the most critical period of the day. For he never ate except once in the twenty-four hours, and his meal was in consequence enormous. Like his countrymen in general, he drank little wine, and that only at dinner, and both tobacco and coffee he eschewed. Talleyrand was rather above the middle height. For a Frenchman he might be considered tall, and in spite of his lameness (for he had a contracted foot) his figure was not without grace. He dressed like a gentleman of the old school after ruffles and wigs had ceased to characterise it. The Duke did not share the popular belief in his extraordinary abilities. On the contrary, he regarded him as rather a commonplace politician, who owed his advancement to the anxiety of the French Government, after the fever of revolutionary madness abated, to obtain the services of as many aristocrats as were willing to make common cause with it. As to his honesty, the Duke held, that reflected pretty accurately the moral condition

of the society into which he was thrown. He could be honest, whenever he believed that honesty would be convenient. He spoke the truth, if truth served the purpose of the moment. According to his own statement, Talleyrand's opinion of the Duke was very different. He regarded the Duke, or professed to do so, as the foremost Englishman of his day, as well because of his perfect integrity as on account of his thorough knowledge of what was necessary to preserve the peace of Europe, and the wisdom of his measures for securing it. Talleyrand was accompanied by his niece, the Duchesse de Dino, a beautiful and accomplished young woman, of whom the censorious world used to speak slightingly, though I dare say without just reason.

Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, afterwards King of Hanover, can scarcely be spoken of as a foreigner. Neither was he at any time much in favour with the Duke of Wellington. But the Duchess of Cumberland was foreign by birth, and on the only occasion when I met her at Walmer she had ceased to be even a naturalised Englishwoman. It was in the winter of 1830, for the Duke remained longer than usual this year at Walmer, that the lady paid him a visit, bringing with her her only child, Prince George. They were on their way to join her husband, and his father, to whom the death of George IV. had opened the succession to the Hanoverian throne, and who immediately after the

royal funeral at Windsor had gone to take possession. Of him, therefore, I saw nothing, but there was much in the situation of his family, and in the manner of the new Queen, which was calculated to excite interest. A large woman, in whom few traces of the beauty of other days could be discovered, she was yet graceful in her manner, if indeed it did not strike one as more subdued than was necessary. We, the other guests, were assembled in the drawing-room previously to the announcement of dinner, when she entered, the Duke leading her by the hand. We all rose, of course, and stood in a sort of semicircle, round which the Duke conducted her, introducing to her by name individually each lady and gentleman whom she confronted. She had a few words to say to all, but their meaning never varied. It was evident that the one thought which filled her mind was an anxious desire that a favourable impression of the family should be left in a country which they had so long inhabited and were now quitting for ever. "You will not forget us quite, I hope, when we are gone. We leave you with great regret, and would be sorry not to believe that you would miss us." Then she spoke of their journey from London, and the manner in which they had been treated all along the road. "Nothing, I assure you, could be more gratifying. Not a single insult was offered to us. The people, whenever we stopped to change horses, were quiet and most

respectful." They to whom she made her appeal answered as was fitting, though in reference to the behaviour of the people, they came to a somewhat different conclusion from hers. They knew that of all the members of the royal family the Duke of Cumberland was the most unpopular, and that had the mobs of Chatham and Canterbury been aware that his family filled the carriages on which they were gazing, no chivalrous feeling of respect for womanhood would have restrained them from venting on the wife the abuse which, if due at all, was due only to the husband. Nobody, of course, said a word which could tend to deprive the poor lady of the satisfaction of believing that the obsequious attention of hosts and ostlers, and the orderly conduct of the few loiterers who stopped to see the horses changed, were tokens of respect for her, and not merely the stereotyped behaviour of persons too much accustomed to speed travelling princes on their way to take any notice of the escutcheons emblazoned on the panels, or the liveries worn by servants.

Prince George was at this time about eighteen years of age and stone-blind. The sight of one eye he had lost in childhood, and just before the ascension of his father to the Hanoverian throne an accident extinguished the other. He was swinging a double silk purse carelessly too near his own face, when one of the pouches, heavy with coins, struck the sound eye. Inflammation set in, and all the skill of the best oculists in London failed to

save the vision. Either because his parents still clung to the hope that vision might return, or because he was himself as yet unreconciled to the inevitable, the Prince, during his stay in Walmer Castle, shut himself up in a darkened room. Several of the guests, besides the Duke, were invited to visit him there, and all came away much impressed in his favour. His manners were very taking, and he alluded to his own misfortune with an attempt at cheerfulness which was, in truth, most touching. Poor boy, his fate in after-life was the more sad, that neither he nor his father had done anything to deserve it. The father's unpopularity in England may, or may not, have been fairly earned. He never courted the masses. His moral conduct, to say the least, was far from correct, though in this respect he might stand a comparison with those among his brothers whom the people most lauded; and being by far the most resolute of the family, he established an influence over George IV. which often proved very inconvenient to his Majesty's ministers. But, with all his faults, he was a man of his word, as was shown in this that he alone, of all the continental sovereigns, fulfilled to his subjects the promises that were made to them when thrones were in danger. The consequence was that in Hanover he was as popular as in England he had been the reverse, and that the devotion of the people to the father was continued to the son when the crown devolved upon him. It

has been charged against George V. as an act of folly that in the quarrel between Austria and Prussia he took the wrong side. Prussia, it is said, being, like Hanover, a Protestant state, sound policy, not to speak of higher motives, ought to have led him to make common cause with her. But they who argue thus forget the old standing grounds of antipathy which rendered a cordial alliance between the two powers impossible, except in opposition to France. Ever since the days of Frederick Prussia had schemed to absorb Hanover. And once, by the favour of France, to whom she was then a mere satellite, she succeeded in doing so. It was natural, therefore, when the long-pending struggle between Austria and Prussia for supremacy came on, that Hanover should cast in her lot with the former. And that this was the feeling of the nation, not of the Court only, was shown by the fact that large sacrifices were cheerfully submitted to in order that a well-equipped army might take the field. Had Bavaria been more on the alert, and Moltke less master of strategy, the Hanoverians might have escaped the necessity of fighting the battle of Langensalza single-handed. As it was, they came out of that contest defeated indeed, but not disgraced, after proving that the noble qualities which distinguished the soldiers of the German Legion in the Peninsular War had by them been handed down unimpaired to their sons. This could not, however, avert the catastrophe. The lost battle

cost Prince George his throne, and Hanover its independence as a separate nation.

Of another distinguished foreigner, General Alava, I must give some account, because of the intimate relations which used to subsist between him and the Duke. So intimate indeed were at one time these relations, that Alava may be said to have been rather an inmate in the Duke's family than a guest. Alava began life as an officer in the Spanish navy, in which capacity he took part in the battle of Trafalgar. When the war of independence between Spain and France broke out, he at once joined the national party, and at a later period served with credit at the Duke's headquarters. Nor did his connection with his great chief come to an end with the peace of 1814. In 1815 he was appointed, on the Duke's suggestion, Spanish Commissioner with the English army in the Netherlands, and was present in that capacity at the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo. We find him next, on his return home, supporting King Ferdinand against the political party among his countrymen who insisted on retaining a democratic constitution with a titular sovereign at its head. Whether he entirely approved of the *coup d'état* which set aside Juntas altogether may well be doubted. At all events, it was with him that Lord Fitzroy Somerset chiefly communicated when sent by the Duke's advice on a semi-official mission to Madrid, in the hope of persuading the adverse

sections to come to a compromise. But Spain was by this time a mere arena of hostile factions the intrigues of which, one against the other, rendered all equally deaf to the counsels of wisdom. It was not in Alava's nature to keep clear of the rocks on which other public men lost themselves, and the consequence was that after the Duc d'Angoulême's promenade from Bayonne to Cadiz, Alava was forced to go into voluntary exile. He took refuge with many others in the south of France, whither his wife followed him. While there, the Duke's kindness to him was untiring. He sent him money from time to time, and invited him to come to England, where either apartments in Apsley House, or one of the Duke's many mansions in Hampshire, would be at his service. As long as Madame Alava lived, Alava preferred remaining where he was. On her death, he gladly closed with the Duke's offer of an asylum, and from about 1826 to 1830 subsisted entirely on the Duke's benevolence.

Alava was a Spaniard to the backbone, and a liberalised Spaniard. Whether he had any religious belief at all, is doubtful, but certain it is, that he hated the Roman Catholic priesthood with no ordinary hatred, and that the feeling extended itself during his residences in England, till it embraced the whole body of the clergy of the Established Church, and the ministers of all denominations. His education, like that of the great body of Spanish gentlemen of his day, had been

utterly neglected. He knew nothing of the literature or history of other nations, and little, if anything, of the literature and history of his own. In the faculty of acquiring languages he seemed to be particularly deficient. His spoken English, after years of residence in the country, was scarcely intelligible, and his French was not much better. In spite of these drawbacks, however, he was cordially received into the best society of London, entirely because of his apparent devotion to his benefactor, for he followed the Duke from place to place like his shadow. He entered with zeal into all the Duke's projects, approved, or professed to approve, all the Duke's suggestions as to the best means of procuring for Spain the blessings of good government, and when the question of parliamentary reform came up at home, declared himself entirely in favour of the Duke's policy and proceedings. Neither the Duke nor his friends were aware that Alava was all this while in communication with Earl Grey, informing him of the plans of the leaders of the Opposition and of whatever differences might arise among them as to the course of action to be pursued. Nor was it till after the death of Ferdinand had removed every obstacle to Alava's return to Spain, that so much as a suspicion was awakened in the minds of those who trusted him, of foul play on his part. When, however, he came back to London in the character of Queen Christina's ambassador, he threw himself completely into

the views of Lord Melbourne's Cabinet. He no longer sought either the confidence or the companionship of the Duke. On the contrary, he kept entirely aloof from him, as well he might, while settling the terms of a treaty of which the Duke disapproved, not because he was favourable to despotism as it prevailed under Ferdinand VII., but because he held it to be, on the part of France and England, an iniquitous interference in the internal affairs of Spain and Portugal. Of Evans's legion, which Alava was mainly instrumental in creating, and of its operations in the Basque Provinces, the Duke could never speak with patience. It seemed to him monstrous that England, which had so largely helped the Spanish people to get rid of a foreign yoke, should suspend her own laws and allow the Spanish Government for the time being to raise an army in England in order to put down a rebellion to which the bulk of the people were favourable, because they held Don Carlos to be their legitimate sovereign.

Alava's appearance was very much against him. His features were coarse, his stature short, and his complexion sallow. His conversation consisted entirely, either of the gossip of the day, or of anecdotes of the Peninsular War, neither very interesting in themselves, nor very articulately repeated. You could not help, on first making his acquaintance, sympathising with him as a martyr to principle, and as I have just said, his apparent

devotion to the Duke added strength to the feeling. In proportion, however, to the growth of your intimacy grew a distaste for his company, which, but for the high patronage under which it began, had really nothing attractive about it. As to his fetching and carrying at the era of the Reform movement, that was probably more the result of constitutional weakness than through either dislike to aristocratic, or a passionate love of democratic, institutions. It was not in his nature to abstain from intriguing whenever and wherever intrigue might present itself, and though the power to do mischief might be small with him, the spirit of Spanish liberalism by which he was moved constrained him to make the most of it.

Another foreign officer, whom it was my privilege to meet at Walmer Castle, deserves to be noticed, were it only on account of the circumstances which brought about his intimacy with the Duke. An Irishman by birth, and descended from a good family, Monsieur Nugent entered the Austrian service at a time when Roman Catholic gentlemen were by law prevented from holding commissions in the British army. He served with distinction through the earlier wars of the French Revolution, and in 1812 had attained the rank of general. It will be recollected that in the summer of that year Napoleon's fatal invasion of Russia occurred. In that enterprise all the German States except Austria took part, each furnishing a contingent to

the Grand Army, and each, with the single exception of Saxony, detesting both the war and its author. The world knows now what was known only to a few persons then, that between Austria and Russia a secret understanding existed, the object of which was to restrain the further ambition of the conqueror, and to win back, for both, part at least of the territories of which they had been deprived. That Napoleon should have been kept in the dark respecting this matter is scarcely more surprising than that he should have consented to the neutrality of Austria after making up his mind to strike at Russia. Probably his marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa, and the exaltation consequent on being received thereby into the family of princes, may have misled him. Perhaps, too, he fancied that Austria, having much more to expect from a close alliance with France than with any other power, would never be induced to act against him. Be this, however, as it may, the fact remains that Austria prevailed upon him to sanction not only the withholding of a corps which at one time he had demanded, but the maintenance in Bohemia of a stout army for the ostensible purpose of overawing other states which he distrusted, and keeping open his communications with his own rear.

It was at this juncture, when Europe watched with intense interest the slow and somewhat uncertain progress of the Grand Army, that General

Nugent, quitting the corps he commanded in Bohemia, made his way to London. By whom he was commissioned to undertake the journey, if commissioned by any one, was then a secret. Nobody, moreover, pretended to attach any special importance to the visits which he paid to Lord Liverpool and Lord Bathurst; and when, furnished with a letter from the Colonial Secretary to Lord Wellington, he took ship at Portsmouth for Lisbon, the proceeding was regarded as one quite to be expected from an Austrian general curious to see of what materials the British army in Portugal was composed. Thus, without giving rise to speculation in any quarter, he arrived at Frenada, where the British headquarters were established, and where he received from the commander of the forces a very cordial welcome. As a matter of course, the Duke showed to the Austrian general his troops, with whose appearance and bearing the Austrian was delighted. "I could scarcely believe," he used to say, "that I was looking at men, horses, and matériel, which had just begun to rest after the retreat from Burgos. They were all as fresh and clean and orderly as if they had just been marched out from barracks at home."

General Nugent's visit, however, to Frenada was not one of mere curiosity. He went there, after confidential discussion with the English Government, to sound the Duke as to whether, in the event of an alliance hostile to France being got up

between Austria and Prussia, he would consent to take the command of their combined forces. Whether he was authorised by the Emperor to make this proposal, or whether he acted as the agent of that section of the Austrian Cabinet which abhorred the French alliance, and was eager to escape from it, nobody knows. Nugent himself was always reticent on that head, years after the need for concealment might be supposed to have passed away. But however this might be, the Duke's answer to the proposal was exactly such as a man so cautious, yet so astute, might be expected to give. "The proposed alliance being still a thing of the future, a direct acceptance and a direct refusal of the proposal would be alike out of place. Nor must your Government allow its policy to be determined by a circumstance of such secondary importance as my compliance or non-compliance with its wish. I am not my own master, but must do, both at this moment and hereafter, whatever my own Government may desire. But you may assure those for whom you act that, whatever I can do to promote a scheme so wise, indeed so necessary for the salvation of Europe, I will do with all my heart."

With this answer and a strong assurance from the British Government that, whether the Duke went to them or not, the Power which projected the alliance would receive from England every aid in money and material, Nugent returned home. By and by there followed events of which little

need be said here. Nugent reached Vienna after the fatal retreat from Moscow had begun. He hastened thence into Bohemia and reassumed the command of his corps, which formed part of the Austrian force collected in that province. He became a member of the diplomatic body, which strove in Dresden to bring Napoleon to reason, and when the negotiations were broken off and Austria made common cause with Russia and Prussia, Nugent took the field. In the operations that followed, including the defeat of Vandamme at the back of the Carpathians, and the battle of Leipsic, he played a conspicuous part. After this we find him co-operating with Lord William Bentinck in the Mediterranean, and at the head of a hastily organised levy falling upon the French garrisons in Dalmatia and Croatia, and compelling them to surrender. From Trieste to Fiume, and from Fiume to Agram, he carried all before him, achieving much honour to himself and important advantages to the cause. He was rewarded for his services by being made a member of the Aulic Council, and a Count of the Holy Roman Empire. He had previously married a Croatian lady, who brought him as her dower a fine estate and a comfortable house, in which he resided, when not called by duty to Vienna, or seeking recreation in foreign travel.

Count Nugent was a perfect gentleman in appearance and manner. He entertained the

highest respect and esteem for the Duke, in the long list of whose correspondents his name more than once occurs. Whether he came by invitation to Walmer Castle, or volunteered his visits, I do not know, but the Duke always received him with marked cordiality. I have elsewhere recorded an amusing little incident which occurred during one of these visits, but no great harm will be done if I repeat it here. Count Nugent was a Roman Catholic, and when Sunday morning came round, he said to the Duke, "Do you go to church?" Duke—"Always. Don't you?" Nugent—"Oh yes, but, you know, I am a Catholic, and can't go to your church." Duke—"Very true, I had forgotten." Then turning to Captain Watts, who was present, he continued: "Captain Watts, Count Nugent wants to go to the Roman Catholic chapel; do you know where it is?" "Yes, your Grace." Duke—"Then be so good as show Count Nugent the way." Count Nugent, taken quite aback, did not know how to parry the thrust, and was walked off under Captain Watts's charge to a poor little Roman Catholic chapel in Deal. The Duke seemed much amused with the expression of his guest's countenance, and as the rest of the party were proceeding to the parish church at Walmer, he said: "I knew he did not want to go to church himself, and was anxious that I should stay at home with him, but it was best that we should both go to church."

It was my privilege a few years later to visit Count Nugent's château in Croatia, to which he invited me, both when I met him at Walmer, and subsequently at Vienna. Unfortunately he himself happened to be from home when I arrived, but from the Countess I received a hearty welcome, as well as from his eldest son, at that time a captain in an infantry regiment. Poor fellow, he got into some quarrel with a brother-officer not long afterwards, and was killed in a duel. This was a severe blow to his father.

Mention has been made of Captain Watts. Watts joined the 85th Light Infantry in the early spring of 1813, on the same day that I did; indeed, we travelled on the top of the coach together from London to Hythe, where the regiment was then quartered. He served in Spain, the south of France, and America, was an excellent regimental officer, and the most simple-hearted and innocent of men. The regiment was an expensive one, and Watts, whose means were not great, sold out as a captain. But his good qualities had secured for him the esteem of all his brother-officers, and in 1830, when the Captaincy of Walmer Castle fell vacant, the place was obtained for him. In point of emolument it was of little value, but it brought him into daily communication with the Duke, who fully appreciated his sterling qualities, and was not offended by his shy and retiring manners. Watts died in 1873, a military Knight of Windsor.

CHAPTER III

THE DUKE'S GUESTS—"DII MAJORUM GENTIUM"

FOREMOST among the Duke's political guests, by reason both of the office which he held, and the part which he played in constructing the Duke's administration, may be placed Lord Lyndhurst. The son of a distinguished artist, and by descent an American, young Copley took a foremost place, both at school and in college. He chose the bar for his profession, and soon became as conspicuous for his successes in court as for his social qualities. It came to pass, however, that Copley so managed matters as never to become rich. On the contrary, his pecuniary affairs were always in confusion, of which the consequence was, that when he achieved the honours of his profession he had acquired habits of expense, with little more than his daily earnings wherewith to indulge them. "My poverty, but not my will consents" might be said by many persons in real life, as truly as by Shakespeare's starved apothecary. It was this, combined perhaps with an ostentatious indifference to party obligations,

which earned for Copley, rightly or wrongly, the reputation of being the most venal of politicians. When Canning became Prime Minister, Copley took office under him as Attorney-General. On Canning's death, Viscount Goderich advanced him to the woolsack, as Baron Lyndhurst, and when the Goderich administration got into difficulties he at once transferred his allegiance to the Duke of Wellington. There is nothing to show that he made any effort, direct or indirect, to retain the seals when Lord Grey came into office. Such an attempt, after the conspicuous part played by him in resisting the progress of the Reform Bill, would have been almost more hopeless than discreditable. But an ex-Chancellor's pension, not then, as Lord Brougham by and by contrived to make it, £5000 a year, proved inadequate to his wants, and he applied to the Whig Premier for the post of Chief Baron, and obtained it. The consequence was, that for several years the voice which had been most frequently heard in biting condemnation of the policy of ministers became mute, and so continued, till another turn in the wheel of fortune placed the Chief Baron for the second time on the woolsack. Lord Lyndhurst, like most men of his moral and intellectual calibre, had a large acquaintance, few real friends, and many enemies. Among his friends, Benjamin Disraeli may be said to have taken a foremost place. There was very much in the two men common to both—with just enough in

an opposite direction to save, so to speak, the individuality of each. Lockhart abhorred them both. On the occasion of Lord Lyndhurst's application to Earl Grey, he wrote, printed, but never published a bitter pasquinade, which I once knew by heart, but have now unfortunately forgotten. The *Quarterly Review* under his management dealt frequent blows at Disraeli, and if it spared Lord Lyndhurst, the circumstance cannot be attributed to any strong personal predilection on the part of the editor for the ex-Chancellor.

It was while both were in office that Lord Lyndhurst was most in the habit of visiting the Duke. I do not remember ever to have seen him either at Walmer or Strathfieldsaye after the Reform Act came into force. If of any man it could be predicated that he wore two distinct faces, the assertion might be hazarded in his case. His countenance in repose wore a sinister expression, which disappeared the moment he became animated. The weight of his brow in some sort accounted for this, overhanging as it did the rest of his face. But get him into conversation on a subject which interested or amused him, and the cloud immediately lifted. Then a bright, piercing, hazel eye twinkled with fun, or looked grave and thoughtful as the occasion suggested. His features were regular and his complexion a clear brown. Few men could make themselves more agreeable than he, for he had read much, remembered what he read, and was never

at a loss how to make use of his knowledge. He was, moreover, a lawyer, and lawyers have special opportunities of observing the grotesque as well as the base and bad in human nature. Lord Lyndhurst had manifestly not allowed these to pass from him unimproved. His anecdotes were both abundant and racy, and if he had a story to tell, he told it admirably. When I had the honour of first making his acquaintance, he was married to his second wife, who got the credit, whether justly or not I cannot say, of keeping him by her extravagance in constant difficulties.

Lord Lyndhurst was vain of his personal appearance, and not without reason. To the last he dressed so as to appear young, and wore a brown wig. The scandalous world alleged that he provided himself with no fewer than twelve wigs, so constructed that from time to time he might seem to have had his hair cut. For example, on the last of December his wig was shaggy; on the 1st January it was a crop. The crop in course of time gave place to a wig with hair slightly longer, till he appeared at last surmounted by the wig which had done duty on the previous 31st December. I believe this to have been a true story.

Another anecdote illustrative of the view which he took of the uses to which the patronage of his office might fairly be turned, rests on individual authority. Mr. Martin, author of the *History of the British Colonies*, lived at one time, or said he

did, on intimate terms with Mr. Disraeli, while the latter was as yet nothing more than a young man of great promise about town. Martin conceived that by the publication of his work he had done good service to the country, and not being overburdened with shyness he applied, through Disraeli, for an office of considerable emolument in the Chancellor's gift. The application was favourably received, Disraeli being, at this time, an intimate friend of Lord Lyndhurst, and through him a promise was given that the coveted office would be conferred on the applicant. Accordingly, at the end of a week, a gentleman—not Mr. Disraeli—called upon Martin, and, putting a paper into his hand, requested him to sign it. Martin read the paper and discovered, to his surprise, that it was a document pledging him to pay to the Chancellor two years' salary of the office. Martin declined to attach his signature to the document, informing his visitor that the office was promised to him, whereupon the visitor took his leave. "The office," Martin went on to say, "was given a few days subsequently to another person, and the next time I met Disraeli he cut me dead." I do not vouch for the truth of this story, and am apt to believe that, whatever part Mr. Disraeli may have played in the transaction—assuming it to have occurred—he was by far too sagacious to act as Martin represented. With respect to Lord Lyndhurst himself, if there be the slightest foundation for the tale, he may possibly

have acted in the case on a conviction that a course adopted by the greatest of his predecessors, even though it befell two or three centuries ago, could not be unworthy of imitation; and he at least had a plea to urge, which Bacon had not, in mitigation of the wrong, if wrong it was.

I come now to another and still more prominent member of the Duke's Cabinet, of whom I desire to speak only as I found him. Sir Robert Peel's personal appearance need not be described; it is accurately given in a thousand engravings, with which Englishmen in all ranks and conditions of life are familiar. His manners, so far as my experience goes, were stiff, cold, and therefore forbidding. The impression they made upon you was that you were in the presence of a man so terribly afraid of committing himself, that he could not utter a word on any subject till he had well weighed all its possible consequences. This awkwardness—for to such it amounted—might in part be constitutional. No one afflicted with an excess of self-consciousness can, under any circumstances, acquire a frank demeanour. But if it be fair to judge from the habit to which Sir Robert was addicted of speaking of himself in season and out of season as one of the people, it is impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that at the root of this apparent shyness lay no small amount of mistaken pride. The son of a man who, beginning life as an operative weaver, rose to be one of the most successful and

affluent of English manufacturers, Sir Robert was from boyhood brought into contact with an aristocracy which, though in the main both liberal and enlightened, is at least as jealous of its social privileges as any in Europe. As years passed, Peel's great wealth and undoubted abilities fully entitled him to break through the conventionalities, and break through them he did for all practical purposes. But neither at Harrow, nor at Oxford, nor later, when he became a Member of Parliament and a Cabinet Minister, could he entirely succeed in effacing from his own mind the idea that, though with the magnates of England, he was not one of them. This was shown, not alone in private society, but by many of his speeches in the House of Commons; and nowhere more distinctly than in that clause of his will which forbade his sons to accept a peerage, or any other token of the sense entertained by the Crown of their father's services.

Had he been able to forget his own origin, or, better still, to look back upon it as an accident not to be accounted of, except as testifying to the excellence of the institutions under which he lived, he would have escaped many moments of self-inflicted pain, and made himself more agreeable than he did to those with whom he could not avoid holding constant intercourse.

Of his mode of proceeding in his own house, I know nothing, never having had the honour of being his guest either in town or country, but

wherever else I chanced to meet him, he was always the same. He took no part whatever in the general conversation at dinner, and when an adjournment to the drawing-room took place, he withdrew into a corner apart, and unless pursued by some irrepressible admirer, would take up a book and read, or pretend to read. It was one of his characteristics that, though an excellent classical scholar, he had no real taste for works of imagination either in verse or prose. Even Sir Walter's novels, which, when I first met him, were in the full blaze of their popularity, he declared himself never to have read. I confess that hearing him say this, I took it for granted that he was bamboozling his questioner, a lady, and I still believe that it must have been so. But being destitute himself of imagination, it is probable enough that the works of Malthus and Ricardo and John Stuart Mill were more familiar to him, and better relished than those of Bulwer, then just beginning to take the public by storm, or even Lord Byron or Scott.

A story is told of the late Lord Stanhope, who, though the most amiable of men, and a man of large acquirements, did not always say the right thing in the right place, that seeing the Duke of Wellington in front of him in the Hyde Park Ride, he drove his horse furiously against that of the Duke, well-nigh dismounting the rider, and at the same time asked the question, "Duke, what is your opinion of Sir Robert Peel?" The reply which

the Duke evaded, I shall do my best to give. The Duke's opinion of Sir Robert Peel varied at different periods of their intimacy. While both were members of Lord Liverpool's administration, the Duke thought highly of Peel, both as a man of talent and strict integrity, and as a rival to Canning, in whom he had no confidence. In 1828, when the care of forming a Cabinet was imposed upon him, the first step the Duke took was to request Peel to meet him, with the view of urging upon him the acceptance of the post of Prime Minister. Perhaps I express myself a little too strongly in saying the Duke urged this point. It would be more correct perhaps to say that he sounded Peel on the subject, for, cautious as Peel might be, the Duke on all public affairs was at least as cautious, and there is nothing in his public correspondence to show how far he went in this or any other direction. They had both been taught from the issues of the debates in previous sessions of Parliament that Catholic Emancipation, the great question of the day, must sooner or later be settled, and the problem submitted to them for solution was how best this inevitable end might be achieved. The Duke, whose opinions on that head were based on expediency and not on principle, took office, prepared himself to face the danger—for a great danger to party stability he knew the attempt to carry such a measure would be—but this he held to be less fraught with mischief than an endeavour

to carry on the Government under existing conditions. Peel did not see the matter in the same light. He, too, felt, and indeed acknowledged, that the policy of other days had failed, and that by making the repeal of the laws against Catholics an open question in the Cabinet, ministers had paved the way for emancipation. At the same time he had always been an advocate on principle of resistance to the Catholic claims, and to take now an active part in an opposite direction must, he felt assured, destroy his influence in the country. That the Duke with great difficulty overcame these scruples is well known; that he was grateful for this act of self-sacrifice on Peel's part is equally certain. Yet it is scarcely a secret now that, from the date of the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, the two statesmen for some years looked coldly the one upon the other.

I never met Sir Robert Peel at Strathfieldsaye, and only once at Walmer Castle just after the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, while he was still Home Secretary. Facts which subsequently came to my knowledge were then hidden from me, otherwise I might have taken a more accurate measure of the relations in which he and his host stood towards one another; for, without doubt, a more potent cause, than that which I accepted for the extreme awkwardness of Peel's manner, would have suggested itself to me. He was sore under the recollection of the part he had been over-

persuaded to play in carrying the measure, while the Duke could not but feel how cruelly, through Peel's deference to the bishops, its chances of success in bringing permanent peace to Ireland had been lessened. The Duke was indeed too much of a man of the world to evince in his manner any coldness towards his colleague. On the contrary, he did his best to put Peel at his ease, by treating him before others with marked cordiality, and inviting him from time to time, as was natural, to private conferences in his own room; but Peel would not be enticed out of his reserve. Of what passed between them during these conferences I know nothing. All that I do know is, that Peel took no pains to make himself agreeable to the rest of the company, and that after a while he was left to take his own course.

I expressed myself with hesitation concerning the Duke's desire that Peel should undertake the conduct of the Government in 1828. Of his repeating this proposal in 1830, urging its acceptance, there can be no doubt. The death of George IV., and the accession of William IV., seemed to him to offer an excellent opportunity of winning back the old Tories, in the face of opposition from whom he could not well see how the Government could be carried on; and believing, as he did, that their hostility was against himself personally, he anticipated no doubt that, were Peel to become first Lord of the Treasury, they would all take office

under him. As to himself he would promise a cordial support, in a subordinate office, or out of it, just as might be considered most conducive to the wellbeing of the State. Again Peel refused to stand in the breach, and the Government went on as before, with what results, as soon as the dissolution came, I need not pause to describe again here.

It would have been extraordinary if these repeated differences of views had failed, in some degree at least, to break in upon the cordiality which previously held the two statesmen together. Nor did Peel's line of policy run parallel with that of the Duke after the Whigs brought forward their measure of parliamentary reform. The Duke was most desirous that the Bill should be met at once with a refusal to read it, and we know now that, if Peel had been bold enough to act on this suggestion, a considerable majority of the House of Commons would have supported him. But Peel shrank from a course so little sanctioned by parliamentary usage, and the first reading passed with scarcely a dissentient comment. A day was fixed for the second reading, after an interval well chosen to suit the purposes of the Cabinet. Time was thus gained for working on the hopes of the ambitious and the fears of the timid, and the Government, though successful on the second reading by a very small majority, prevailed upon the King to dissolve. From that moment the game was up. Even if the Duke's advice had been followed, and

the first reading of the Bill been refused, the old system could not have been maintained in its integrity. The King might, and probably would, have changed his ministers rather than dissolve a Parliament which had been only a few months in existence, but a Reform Act of some sort had become inevitable, and the best thing a Tory Government could do would be to frame one on the lines of Mr. Pitt's Bill, unhappily stifled by the French Revolution. No doubt, even this would have caused divisions in the party, not, however, such as to destroy it, or very seriously weaken it.

But it was not so to be. Under Peel's guidance the opponents of the ministerial measure fought, in the House of Commons, a battle, imperfect success in which proved fatal to themselves, and amid the excitement of a General Election (the most remarkable in English history) one cry was heard on every hustings, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill."

I look back upon that time, now more than half a century ago, with amazement. Judicial blindness seemed to fall upon the nation, for not one voter in a thousand had the most remote idea of the consequences, either to himself or to others, of what he was doing; yet everywhere, even in small boroughs, not less than in the counties, and in populous towns, the tide ran with resistless force in one direction. Let me not be misunderstood. I am not now in any degree what the excitement of a great political

struggle made me then, to a certain extent, a defender of the abuses which, in 1830, overlaid the constitution. In one of my letters to the Duke, which his son did not publish,[1] though he published his father's reply to it, I ventured to enumerate several points on which I thought concession to public opinion might advantageously be yielded, and now for many years past no one could be more satisfied than I that the hurricane of 1830 was brought on quite as much by the neglect of the Tories to revive between 1812 and 1827 Pitt's wise measure, as by the boldness of the Whigs in bidding high for office in 1830. Still, even at this hour, and with these convictions more deeply impressed upon me than ever, I cannot reflect on the historical incidents of 1830 without positive pain. Other revolutions, even if we go no further back than the great Rebellion, and the change of dynasty in 1688, were originated and guided by the natural leaders of the people. The revolution of 1830 was both originated and carried through in opposition to the natural leaders of the people. The unnatural alliance between the Government and the mob proved too strong for the wealth, station, and intelligence of the country, and the democracy learned thereby a lesson it can never forget. The Church, the Throne, the House of Lords, the order of society as it used to exist, and to a certain extent still exists in this country, are all at the mercy of the mob,

[1] See page 63.

and the mob knows it. Doubtless the decadence has been more gradual than any of us expected it would be, when we vainly strove to reason with madmen. But not the less steadily has it gone on till we have reached a depth but a little way beneath which lies democracy, with its inevitable consequent—in such a country as this—communism.

Firm in his own conviction, and hoping against hope that even yet the country might be brought to see the dangers that threatened society, the Duke, as is well known, induced the Lords to throw out the ministerial measure, and when, after a brief recess, it came before him again, he accepted his defeat as he would have done a reverse in the field, and did his best to make it as little decisive as possible. Again Peel stood apart from him. He would have nothing to do with the attempt that was made to take the question out of the hands of those who had raised it, by forming a new administration. It was no secret to him any more than it was to the Duke, that the King's eyes had been opened to the deceits that were practised on him, and that whatever support the Crown could give to ministers would be given to a Cabinet of which he would consent to be a member. The Crown's support, even when backed by the House of Lords, was in his eyes as a feather in the scale when weighed against the will of the House of Commons. Nor could he be brought to believe either that there

were existing in the House men patriotic enough to postpone their own crotchets to the public good, or that a second dissolution could effect any other purpose than to bring back a House more radically disposed than that which had preceded it. The consequence was that the Duke was obliged to abandon any attempt to form an administration, and that without any positive break between them, he and Peel ceased for a while to take counsel together.

It was a matter of surprise to me at the time, that after meeting Peel at Walmer while he held office under the Duke, I never once saw him there during the desperate and protracted struggle that followed the introduction of the great measure. For surprise there was, in truth, no ground; much as they were thrown together, and highly as on the whole they thought of one another, there never lived men of natures so divergent as those ostensible leaders of a great party. The Duke, had he lived two centuries earlier, would have played a conspicuous part among the Cavaliers. For him the Crown was the source not only of honour, but of power, and it was the duty of the King's ministers so to manage Parliament, as that while preserving the liberties of the subject, they should uphold in their integrity the Crown's prerogatives. Steadily refusing himself to become the owner of a borough, and censuring those who used their boroughs for selfish purposes, he stood up, both in

his speeches and in his letters, for the order of things which he found in existence, any change in which, by throwing open the constituency to the masses, must take the government out of the hands of the sovereign and deliver it over to the House of Commons. He had other objections to Lord Grey's special measure which I need not here enumerate, because they are set forth at length in his correspondence. Peel, disliking Lord Grey's measure mainly because it must necessarily change the composition of the House in which the minister for the time being could usually count on being supreme, took a much more lowly view of both the rights and privileges of the Crown, which he held as having been reduced to their proper dimensions by the Revolution of 1688. The Duke was a Tory, such as Tories became when they ceased to be Jacobites. Peel was at heart a Whig, and would have acted with the Whigs from the beginning of his career, had they not gone over to the Jacobins.

It was in the House of Commons and for the House of Commons that Peel lived, and finding himself after Canning's death master there, he would gladly have kept it, as Canning left it, an admirable make-believe of the People's House, though in reality a well-chosen oligarchy. The principles on which their opposition to the Whig measure rested were not the same therefore with him as with the Duke. The Duke fought for the

Crown as the head, not of the United Kingdom only, but of the great British Empire. Peel strove to maintain things as they were, because they gave him a House of Commons which he believed he could manage.

The King's strong dislike of his Whig ministers soon became an open secret. Their financial policy satisfied nobody, and in O'Connell, who had been of great use to them in carrying their Reform Bill, they found a source of permanent weakness. Great differences likewise early arose in the Cabinet, of which the outcome was that the Duke of Richmond, Lord Stanley, and Sir James Graham sent in their resignations. Lord Grey, himself, was not slow in following their example. In a word, as early as 1834 it became apparent that the Government, reconstituted as it was under Lord Melbourne, might at any moment fall to pieces. The views taken of the situation by the Duke and Peel respectively were again at variance. The Duke, convinced that the Revolution begun in 1830 would, unless speedily checked, make short work with the great institutions of the country, was all for supporting the King in his avowed desire to change his ministers. Peel, thinking more of present difficulties than of possible evils to come, shrank from hazarding a conflict in which he could not see his way to certain victory. Instead, therefore, of waiting and watching as the Duke did, he became suddenly taken with a desire—quite

novel to him—for foreign travel. The consequence was that when the crisis came, the King, but for the extraordinary courage of the Duke, must have been left without any other alternative than to recall the members whom he had just dismissed. In those days railroads were few on the Continent, and the electric telegraph was unknown. I never saw the Duke more put out than on his return from his first interview with the King at Brighton. "Just like him," was the expression he made use of when storming at Peel's inopportune absence from the country, and most inopportune it certainly was. If he had been at hand, either his refusal to form a Conservative administration would have stopped the movement in that direction at once, or he would have hindered a dissolution of Parliament till the Commons should have made their disloyalty so obvious as seriously to alarm the constituencies. The Duke's bold assumption of an administration and interview left him no choice except to hurry home and accept, though with undisguised reluctance, the responsibilities with which he was charged.

I am not in a condition to say whether the memorable address to the electors of Tamworth was seen by the Duke before it was published. I am inclined to believe that it was not, because the line it took went wide of the Duke's notions, as usually expressed, and caused much alarm among a considerable section of the party. The Whigs

had held out no threat of interfering with the Established Church except in Ireland, and their plan in reference to it in that country had lost them the support of some of the most influential of their colleagues. That Peel, coming in as the head of the Tory Government, should have attacked, in what was his appeal for support, existing abuses in the Church of England, could be accounted for only in one way. It seemed impossible that he could have regarded these abuses as the worst feature in England's social system, otherwise he would have made an effort under Lord Liverpool to correct them. But now, change of any sort, provided it weakened the influence of the aristocracy, having become synonymous with reform, Peel found in the Established Church a capital subject on which to operate. The bishops had made themselves unpopular by swelling the majority in the House of Lords, which had once dared to vote against the Reform Bill, and the unpopularity which overtook the bishops extended to the whole body of the clergy. What could be more likely to secure Liberal votes at the hustings, than an assurance from the Prime Minister that, if retained in power, he would avenge the people's wrongs on both bishops and clergy. Observe that I am far from asserting that such were Peel's reasons for meditating a plan of reform in the temporalities of the English Church. All for which I venture to blame him is, that, instead of just making sure of his own

position and then bringing forward his scheme, he should have put in the forefront of his manifesto a declaration which all who read looked upon as a bid for votes, likely otherwise to go against him. As I have already said, I am without grounds for forming an opinion as to whether or no Peel took counsel with the Duke or any other member of his Cabinet, before issuing his manifesto; but venturing on one occasion to express regret about it to the Duke, I got from him this answer: "Be assured that I will consent to no changes which the Archbishop of Canterbury and other heads of the Church disapprove."

Peel failed, as is well known, to carry the House of Commons with him. The majority against him was not great,—if I recollect right, something under twenty. Pitt, under similar circumstances, would have held on, knowing that the King was with him, and the great bulk of the wealth and intelligence of the country. But Peel was not Pitt, and immediately on the cessation of the cheers which greeted the Liberal triumph, Peel announced that his Majesty's ministers would retain office only till their successors were appointed.

Peel's brief administration began and ended in 1835. The Whigs returned to Downing Street under the presidency of Lord Melbourne, and one of the first objects to which they gave their attention was that which Peel had suggested to them in his Tamworth manifesto.

They found a scheme ready prepared to their hands, and at once adopted it. The law which had heretofore treated each separate benefice in the Church as a corporation vote was to be set aside. The condition of the prelates, who had heretofore sat in the House of Lords in right of their baronies, was to be altered. An Ecclesiastical Commission, composed mainly of laymen, was to be created, and out-lands seized, and Church dignities suppressed by Act of Parliament; a fund was to be provided, with which power was given to the Commission to deal, avowedly for the benefit of the Church at large.

That a measure so sweeping, which placed all orders of the clergy in a condition which, in point of fact, left it doubtful whether they had not become mere dependencies of the State, should have caused great alarm among the body so affected cannot surprise any one. I confess myself I regarded it with much disfavour, not because I was adverse to the objects proposed to be attained by it, but because the means adopted for their attainment were as unconstitutional, as they were likely to be used by some future Government in justification of other and more drastic remedies for the great abuse of all, the existence in a free country of an endowed and established Church.

With none of the members of Lord Melbourne's administration had I any acquaintance, and the London press was closed against me by the almost

unanimous approval expressed in its columns of the Tamworth manifesto when first published. I made up my mind therefore, not without great difficulty, to communicate with Sir Robert Peel himself on the subject.

The following correspondence accordingly passed between us, which will not, I imagine, be without interest, as showing to what extent thoughtful men were anxious that steps should be taken, not to get rid of Church Reform, but so to conduct it as to avoid the dangerous consequences with which, if affected by the machinery proposed to be created, it might be attended.

"LONDON, *December* 24, 1836.

"DEAR SIR ROBERT,—Were the subject on which I venture to address you less important than it is, I should have the utmost reluctance to intrude upon your attention, especially as my claims to notice on the score of personal acquaintance are very slight. But the question which I am going to discuss is one of great moment, and cannot, I presume, fail to be perpetually present to your own mind. I allude to the reform of the Established Church, and to the suggestions of the Commissioners, with which I am aware you have no immediate concern, but which will be accepted or rejected or modified, in all probability according as you shall decide. Pray, pardon me, if, having felt a deep interest in the matter ever since I read your

address to the Tamworth electors, I presume to lay my sentiments before you.

"What is done cannot be undone. The remodelling of the bishoprics may be either a wise or an unwise arrangement, but it is done, and there is an end of it. And its advocates have this much to say for themselves, that as, in all ages, bishops have had the power to alienate their estates for pious purposes, so the mere transfer of a portion of the revenues from one see to another, both bishops assenting, affords no precedent for the work of spoliation. But the recommendation of the Commissioners in reference to the cathedral bodies, what shall we say for these? We cannot deny that there is spoliation here, for the deans and chapters unanimously protest against the measure. Is it to be carried through in spite of this protest, and in direct opposition to the wishes of a vast majority of the clergy?

"Contrast, I pray you, the advantages and the disadvantages of the scheme. There is a grievous deficiency of church room in the country, and some thousands of the old benefices are so poor that they cannot maintain their clergy in residence. It is vain to look to Parliament for funds sufficient to repair those great evils, and private beneficence will not overtake them. Therefore you are forced to suppress an order in the Church and to devote the revenues of that order to parochial purposes.

"And now, will the fund which you obtain from

this source be adequate, or nearly so, to meet the exigency of which you complain? Say that you gain £100,000 a year—and after the expenses of collection and management are defrayed, I don't believe you will get more—how far will this go?. There are probably two thousand old livings in England which require augmentation. To meet the wants of a growing population, at least as many new churches will scarcely suffice. Here then are four thousand demands on you, the first two thousand of which will exhaust all your fund, yet give to each needy incumbent no greater increase of revenue than £50 a year. And see the price which you pay for this pittance. You unsettle men's minds on Church matters altogether. You dissatisfy the clergy themselves. You take away all intermediate gradations between the bishop and the parish priest. You cut off the scholar and the man of letters from the hope which, through long years of toil and neglect, may have supported him. You innovate so much upon the constitution of the Church as practically to destroy it, for the deans and chapters, though long restrained from exercising their rights (and I need not tell you that the statute of Præmunire was enacted as a defence against papal usurpation), are still, and always have been, the body by whom the bishops are elected. You render it impossible that the cathedral services shall anywhere be performed with decency, or the cathedrals themselves kept in decent repair. And

you give the advocates of spoliation an argument which you will find it very difficult to controvert, for they will tell you with truth that there is no such thing as Church property in the abstract—that the Church is not a corporation, that each benefice is a corporation in itself, and that if you are justified in plundering one, in order to enrich another, you are equally justified in plundering both for the purpose of founding schools or in any other way educating the people.

"But is it necessary, in order to make the cathedral funds available for the general necessities of the Church, that any such rude expedient should be resorted to? I do not think it is. Adopt so much of Lord Henley's scheme, that to six or eight stalls in each cathedral the pastoral charge of one or more poor benefices shall be attached. Do, in fact, in all cases what you did in the case of Westminster, only reserving three or four prizes for men of studious habits, and the good which you accomplish will be much more immediately felt than if you fritter away in driblets the spoils of the whole chapter. At the same time, provide that no man shall henceforth hold more than one Church dignity, and make the chapters aware, after all is done, that they are expected to act liberally and largely on the Act which the archbishop carried through, for the purpose of enabling the patrons of poor benefices to augment them.

"With respect to the patronage of the chapters,

I regard that as a point of very secondary importance. I think the bishops will do themselves no good by claiming it, and I am quite sure that much more has been said as to its abuse in chapter hands than is reasonable. I persuade myself, though I have no other authority than my own suspicions, that the chapters would not hold out very strongly against that point were their numbers kept up, even though dealt with as I have ventured to suggest.

"Pray forgive me for laying these suggestions before you. Were you what you must soon become—Prime Minister—I should not have troubled you; but at present you may have leisure to think on the subject, and I am sure that the conclusions at which you arrive will be dictated by an honest desire to promote the best interests of the Church.

"Believe me, with great respect, your obedient servant, G. R. GLEIG."

"DRAYTON MANOR, Tuesday, *January* 3, 1837.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It is much to be lamented that any serious division of opinion should have arisen among the members and friends of the Church in respect to the recommendations of the Church Commission.

"I will not enter into details of any measures suggested by the Commissioners, and will only remark that objections urged against such details should, in my opinion, receive the fullest and most

respectful consideration, particularly where they are urged by persons sincerely attached to the interests of the Church.

"I confess I see nothing to repent of, or regret, in the arrangements made with regard to the bishoprics. To have one bishopric overloaded with duties, which no human strength can perform, while another has comparatively few, cannot surely be for the spiritual interests of the Church.

"I must also say, as a member of the Church of England, and sincerely anxious for its welfare, a rigid, unvarying, adherence to the present distribution of Church property (considering the total destitution of many very populous places in respect of religious instruction) would not be satisfactory to me, apart from all considerations of a political nature. I should view with very great regret, for instance, in the event of a vacancy, the appointment of a Dean of Durham, with emolument of £8000 or £9000 a year, and not any onerous duties to discharge, while in the diocese of Durham there are thousands, and tens of thousands, who never heard the doctrines of the Established Church, for want of the means to inculcate them.

"We must look at all sides of the question, and can we be surprised at the amount and increase of dissent, unless we make some vigorous effort to recommend our own religious faith? Will laymen undertake this duty, if the Church shall refuse to set the example? Or will Parliament, as at present

constituted, supply the means by public grants? I think not.—Very faithfully yours,

"ROBERT PEEL."

Though somewhat surprised to find a man of Sir Robert Peel's great knowledge appearing to regard as synonymous the terms "the Church" and "the Clergy," I did not think it worth while to notice the blunder; but wrote to him the following letter in answer to his apology for the proposed attack by Parliament on particular benefices:—

"LONDON, *January* 6, 1837.

"DEAR SIR ROBERT,—I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in replying at so much length to my letter.

"I do not believe there are ten men in England so blind to the state of the country as not to be aware that changes, and great changes, in the distribution of what is called Church property have become necessary. The sole question at issue, therefore, is, How shall these changes be effected so as to innovate as little as possible upon the constitution of the Church, and by so doing diminish its influence, while at the same time admitted evils are lessened, if they cannot be entirely got rid of? The Church Commissioners recommend measures which, while they will certainly not satisfy the Church's enemies, distress and alarm her best friends; and the worst of it is that were these

schemes carried into effect to-morrow, we should, as far as the supply of adequate church accommodation is concerned, be little, if at all, the better for them. What we say is, spare the minor dignities as far as you can, and render them what they once were, and always ought to have been, nurseries of theological learning, and a connecting link between the bishops and the parish priest, and we think we can point out means more effectual than yours for the purposes which both of us are trying to effect.

"You very justly ask, Shall the Dean of Durham be left with his £8000 or £9000 a year, while there are tens of thousands of persons in the diocese of Durham to whom the doctrines of the Established Church are never preached? Our answer is, Decidedly not. But while you strive to make the Deanery of Durham available for the spiritual wants of these untaught multitudes, do not mar your own work by confiscating seven-eighths of its revenues, and making over the spoil to a central or general board. There are many chapter livings in Newcastle and other great towns of the North which do not provide their incumbents with a competency. There is a grievous lack of church accommodation both in these towns and elsewhere. After you have provided the dean with an adequate maintenance, cause him to augment the small benefices in his own gift, and when that shall have been efficiently done, make him endow new churches.

Deal in the same way with all your cathedrals. There is not a diocese in England in which claims enough of this legitimate order cannot be advanced. But do not shock the moral feelings of the country, and waste your own resources, by arbitrarily suppressing so many canons in each chapter, and handing over their revenues, as well as the plunder of the deans, to a Board of Church Commissioners. I am not casuist enough to contend that there would be in this no interference with the rights of property, but I am certain that the interference will be much less flagrant, and establish a much less fatal precedent, than the measure proposed by the Commissioners, while the good arising from it would be at once more conspicuous and more important because occurring in places where everybody would be alive to the value of the benefit received and acquainted with the sources from which it came. Besides, central boards, particularly boards over which ecclesiastics preside, are not famous for managing their funds judiciously. When the late treasurer of Queen Anne's bounty died there was a deficiency in his accounts of something like £30,000 or £40,000, and who will undertake to insure the new Board of Church Commissioners from a similar calamity?

"But there is another and a still more productive source open to you in a readjustment of the scale on which first-fruits are levied on all benefices above a certain value. You are aware

that the scale now in use was established during the reign of Henry VIII. Why adhere to it? Why not consult your Clerical Guide, which, owing to the returns recently made to the Commissioners, is for such a purpose accurate enough, and recast this machinery? What if you required every benefice, of which the net annual proceeds amounted to £250, to pay £50 as first-fruits into Queen Anne's bounty? You might then proceed upon an ascending scale, till from all livings of £1000 a year and upwards one-third should be exacted as their contributions. I am aware of the popular objection to this—that it would be hard upon a man when first presented to a benefice to have so large an addition made to the heavy expenses attendant on induction. But the general advantages to be gained would so far exceed their opposites that even the individuals affected by the arrangement would raise no voice against it.

"I will not waste your time by saying one word relative to the bishoprics. I wish, indeed, they had not been reduced to the condition of State pensioners by the clause which subjects their revenues to periodical adjustment, and sends them to the Commissioners for their stipends; and I do regret sincerely that the Commission itself is to be from henceforth the organ by which the financial affairs of the Church of England are to be managed.

"There is but one thing more to which I would shortly allude. In dealing with pluralities, the

recommendation of the Commissioners, if adopted, will preserve for us all the odium and none of the benefits of the system. If money value, and not the distance of one benefice from another, were made the criterion, things would be better. But the real truth is that the best arrangement for the Church would be the suppression of pluralities altogether.

"Once more apologising for the demand I have made upon your time and attention, believe me to be, with great respect, your obedient and obliged servant, G. R. GLEIG."

To this letter I received in due course the following answer, and then our correspondence ended. Peel's scheme of Church reform was carried into effect, and not long after the Commissioners were beginning to think of distributing a portion of their funds, their secretary disappeared. He had speculated in railways with the proceeds of suppressed canonries, and his accounts, being examined, showed a deficiency of something like £150,000. The scandal was hushed up, though whether the Commissioners considered themselves bound to make good the loss to the Church, I never heard.

"DRAYTON MANOR, *January* 25, 1837.

"MY DEAR SIR,—You must not attribute either the delay in answering your last letter, or the brevity of my reply, to the slightest feeling of

indifference towards your sentiments on the great question on which you have addressed me. On the contrary, I am much obliged to you for the communication, and have read it since my return from Glasgow with the attention to which it is so justly entitled. But I have been in such an incessant whirl of occupation since your letter reached me, and have still such an arrear of correspondence, that I must restrict myself to the assurance that under all my engagements your letter has not been overlooked, and that I thank you for it.—Believe me, my dear sir, very faithfully yours,

"ROBERT PEEL."

I should travel very wide of the course which in these sketches I had traced out for myself were I to follow in detail Peel's subsequent career. But it is necessary to account in some degree for the extraordinary importance which the Duke appeared latterly to attach to retaining him at the head of the Government. It had its source much more in distrust of the new leaders of the Conservative party than in absolute confidence in Peel himself. The resolution to repeal the Corn Laws, at which Peel so unexpectedly arrived, distressed the Duke beyond measure. He could not see how such a procedure could in any way tend to alleviate the distress in Ireland. Cheap food is no more accessible than dear food to men who are destitute of money wherewith to purchase it. To

a Government compelled to dispense food gratuitously to a starving population, nothing could be more easy than to abstain during the continuance of the famine from levying any duty on corn imported into the suffering provinces.

The ferocity, however, with which Peel was assailed by members sitting behind him in consequence of the changes he had previously introduced into the commercial policy of the country showed so determined a purpose to oust him from the leadership of the party, that the Duke, taught by experience how difficult it is to reconcile political differences based on personal antipathies, conceived himself bound to sacrifice his own convictions rather than countenance in any degree the proceedings of Mr. Disraeli and his supporters.

That Peel mismanaged in 1846 the business he had set himself to carry through, both those who approve, and those who still regret, the total repeal of the Corn Laws, must now admit. Had he called the party together and explained his views, leaving it to them to decide whether he should take the lead in carrying them into effect, or resign, the party, whatever its determination, might have kept together. But to execute a second surprise upon them was more than the English aristocracy could endure. It was not, however, in Peel's nature to conciliate by any appearance of openness those whom he condescended to lead.

The Duke's fidelity to Peel was the more to be commended that Peel, during his tenancy of office as Prime Minister, did not always treat the veteran statesman and soldier with the respect and deference that were due to him. The Duke, be it remembered, accepted a seat in Peel's Cabinet without a portfolio, and though red boxes came to him from day to day, it is doubtful whether they always contained their full measure of papers. It is certain that he felt, and to his most intimate friends occasionally complained of, something like undue reticence on the part of his colleague. A single example of the nature of the relations which subsisted between the two men at that time may be given. It happened one day during the early progress of the Irish famine that the Duke, riding down by the Green Park from Apsley House to the Horse Guards, was overtaken by Peel. There had been discussions in the Cabinet on the previous afternoon regarding the measure which it might be prudent to adopt under the circumstances, and the Duke, remembering how open he himself used to be when First Lord of the Treasury, naturally expected that Peel would enter at once upon the subject. No advance in this direction having been made by Peel, the Duke referred in general terms to the recent discussion. He was answered after a most diplomatic fashion in vague platitudes, under cover of which the conversation took a different turn. And the two men held on their course, till,

on reaching the parade ground in front of the Horse Guards, Peel wished the Duke good-morning, and rode off in the direction of Storey's Gate. The Duke felt this slight, for such it was, very keenly, yet, loyal to the last, he thrust personal feeling into the background, and, as he himself expressed it, "holding as more important than any laws the retention of Peel in office," he used his influence in the House of Lords, and ensured thereby the passing of a Bill of which he entirely disapproved.

How Peel bore himself subsequently to the disruption of the Tory party all the world knows. His adherents, never many in number, gradually fell away from him, till there remained only a little knot of able men, of whom the late Lady Theresa Lewis used to say that they were "always putting themselves up to auction and buying themselves in again." To this, however, they came, only after the sudden and melancholy death of their leader. With the Duke he had kept little or no intercourse during the remainder of his life, though few took more to heart than the Duke the sad tidings of its extinction.

CHAPTER IV

"DII MINORUM GENTIUM"

I DO not know how far the Right Honourable Charles Arbuthnot and his charming wife ought in strict propriety to be ranged under this heading. If we look to the degree of estimation in which they were held by the Duke, their names ought undoubtedly to stand elsewhere. If we take into account the influence for good or evil of their own work on society, then I give them their proper place in this catalogue of worthies. Whether right or wrong in thus acting, of this I am sure, that they themselves, were it possible to consult them, would be satisfied with the arrangement. Be this, however, as it may, the course of action left open to me by the plan of the present book is obvious. I can speak of men and women only as I knew them, and was able to judge from what they said and did in my presence of their lives and habits elsewhere.

Charles Arbuthnot played his first conspicuous part as a public man in diplomacy. He represented the English Court at Constantinople at the period of Admiral Duckworth's abortive attempt

to overcome the Porte, and was subsequently appointed to various offices of trust in the Home Government. Twice married, he had by his first wife one son, who achieved rapid promotion in the army, and died a few years ago, a general officer. His second wife, Miss Fane, brought him no children, and was still, so to speak, a bride, when he and she in 1814 visited Paris, where the Duke was British Ambassador. Arbuthnot was then between forty and fifty years of age. He was decidedly good-looking, fair in complexion, with a figure slightly, though not feebly framed. His manners were singularly gentle, it might almost be said feminine. He gave you the impression—and it was a perfectly correct one—that you had before you a man of at least average ability, of considerable information, and of great prudence. Whether his acquaintance with the Duke began, or was only renewed, in Paris, I do not know; but this is certain, that they took to one another with a warmth and sincerity of friendship which never during the remainder of their lives suffered the slightest abatement. Never were two men ostensibly more unlike. Bold, ambitious, resolute, a born ruler of men, the Duke's bearing contrasted forcibly with that of his timid and retiring friend; yet it was precisely this divergency of gifts which drew the two together. I speak, of course, of what occurred after the Duke had virtually sheathed his sword and

begun to take part in the management of civil affairs. From 1815 to 1818 his attention was given up as Commander-in-Chief of the army of occupation to foreign policy. Hence when he joined Lord Liverpool's administration, he did so, strong in good sense, but entirely ignorant, or nearly so, of the usages of Cabinets. Now Arbuthnot, besides having been all his life a civil servant, was gifted with a marvellous memory as well in small matters as in great. Whatever the subject might be on which the Duke desired to be informed, he found in Arbuthnot a walking almanac. And of infinite use to him, after he became Prime Minister, was the facility with which he could, so to say, in a moment, quote precedents for arrangements of which others might call in question either the legality or the expediency. It was not, however, in matters of public moment exclusively that Arbuthnot got the credit of being serviceable to the Duke. If information was needed respecting the conduct and character of individuals (and when patronage is to be dispensed, and applicants are numerous, such information must often be needed), Arbuthnot was the channel through which it was usually sought. He was, moreover, perfectly trustworthy—that is to say, he never repeated a remark carelessly dropped in conversation, much less disclosed a secret, under any circumstances, confided to him. Whatever the value might be which the Duke attached to his opinions, it is certain that to

nobody was the Duke's confidence more unreservedly given than to Arbuthnot, nor was there any one in whose society he found greater satisfaction. The friends of great men, not being themselves great, are everywhere exposed, both in their actions and their motives, to misrepresentation; and Arbuthnot's case was no exception to the rule. Some declared him to be a spy, not in society at large, but on individuals in whom the Duke took an interest. Others went so far as to insinuate that he was not above making the most delicate sacrifice in order to ingratiate himself with his patron. As far as I am myself concerned, I entirely disbelieve and denounce the latter base insinuation, and to the former I give only as much credit as is due to the authority on which it rests. But of the Duke's sincere and lasting friendship for Arbuthnot, and Arbuthnot's devotion to the Duke, the surest credence is afforded in the lives of the two men. No higher gratification could come to Arbuthnot than in trying to anticipate the Duke's wishes; nor in the companionship of any other man did the Duke take greater pleasure. Now, looking to the character of the Duke of Wellington, of this we may be sure, that though he might tolerate the acquaintance of one who was useful to him, he was incapable of making a close friend of any one whom he could not respect. Arbuthnot was his close friend to the last. After both had become widowers, Arbuthnot gave up his

house in Carlton Terrace, and at once had apartments in Apsley House. His place in the country he, of course, retained, and was in the habit of spending some time there when the Duke left town; but his home may be said to have been under the Duke's roof from the day of his wife's death, and under that roof he died at last, the Duke, as chief mourner, following him to his grave in Kensal Green Cemetery.

It is not, however, too much to say, that had there been no Mrs. Arbuthnot, or had Mrs. Arbuthnot been different from what she was, Arbuthnot's influence, not with the Duke only, but with the Government of which the Duke was a member, might have failed to reach the point which it achieved. When first introduced to the Duke in Paris, she must have been perfectly beautiful. In 1828, when I made her acquaintance, she was still most attractive. The bloom of youth might indeed be gone, but there remained the soft brown eye, a profusion of brown silky hair, features both regular and expressive, and a figure singularly graceful. But there was much more to admire in her than this. To great natural abilities there was added a large stock of knowledge, acquired both from books and from intercourse with men. Her conversation was in consequence always agreeable, often brilliant, without the slightest apparent effort made to go out of the common ruck. To her likewise belonged a charm, which, when intellectual

women can boast of it, renders them mistresses of all hearts. She sympathised, or appeared to do so, even with those from whose opinions she dissented. Whether her intimacy with the Duke created the taste, or whether her taste was intuitive, the subject which most deeply interested her was politics. Her views were, of course, the Duke's views on all disputable points, so much so indeed, that from her men generally believed he kept no secret. I venture to doubt the fact; because the Duke, though by no means indifferent to female blandishments, possessed the quality of caution to a greater extent than any other public man of his day. He was well tried at the Congress of Vienna by all the leading beauties of Europe. He fooled them to the top of their bent, and encouraged them to imagine that they were paying him off in kind; but not one secret did they worm out of him.

I believe that so it was with Mrs. Arbuthnot. More perhaps than any living woman he trusted her; but till her journal sees the light, if it ever see it, he will arrive at the most probable conclusion who assumes—that there were in the Duke's heart and mind records which she was never permitted to read. Mrs. Arbuthnot had a large spice of jealousy in her composition. She was jealous of all who came about the Duke and were admitted into closer intimacy than of common acquaintance. This remark, however,

applies more to men than to women, for her jealousy had nothing whatever to do with love in the common acceptation of the term. What she aspired to engross was the Duke's confidence, and having no fear that any member of her own sex could come between her and the object of her wishes, she looked with perfect complacency on their endeavours to engross him. It was not so with men, and especially with new men. I mean with those with whom the Duke had recently become acquainted, and with whom the pressure of events might have induced him to take counsel. Of these she was obviously jealous; and as the Duke was believed to make use of her, in testing the discretion of his new friends, so the whisper went round that she did not scruple to keep them apart from him, to misrepresent at times the result of her investigations. I should be slow to credit, except on the strongest evidence, the truth of this scandal. That she did test for him, occasionally, the discretion of those in whom he meditated reposing an important confidence, I have the best reason to know. But that she misrepresented the issues of the trial, I do not believe. The case was this.

At that eventful period elsewhere referred to, when the Reform Bill was thrown out in the Lords, and certain Peers, unable to see their way further, entered into negotiations with Earl Grey, the Duke, who disbelieved in any possible compromise, while

the Whigs retained office, and was therefore bent on fighting the battle out to the bitter end, wrote to me and requested that I would come to him at Strathfieldsaye and there write a pamphlet, for which he would supply me with materials. He at the same time explained its object; that it was intended to warn other Peers from being misled into the notion that anything the Waverers, as they were called, could say or do, would have the smallest effect in hindering Earl Grey from passing his measure in its integrity, even if to effect this it might be necessary to coerce the King into the creation of an unlimited number of new Peers. I was not much disposed to undertake the task, partly because I distrusted my own ability to do full justice to the subject, and partly because, owing to my parochial duties at Ash, and the pressure of literary work which had fallen cruelly into arrears, I did not desire at that time to leave home. I therefore suggested that the Duke should send the materials to Ash, where I would do my best to meet his wishes. To this I received a reply, repeating the Duke's desire that I should go to him, and pointing out that more could be done in two days at Strathfieldsaye than in a week anywhere else. After this I felt that nothing remained for me, except to put other matters aside and do as the Duke wished.

There were no railroads in those days which could be of use to me; but one stage-coach carried me to

London, and another put me down in the afternoon of the following day at Strathfieldsaye. The only guests there, when I arrived, were, besides Lord Charles Wellesley, Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot, though the morrow brought Percy, now Lord FitzGerald, and others whose names I have forgotten. We played whist in the evening, a mode of passing the time usual enough in Hampshire, but very seldom had recourse to at Walmer. Next morning after breakfast the Duke followed me to my room, and after fully explaining both the end he had in view, and the sort of reasoning which appeared to him best calculated to achieve it, he laid a bundle of papers on the table, and left me.

The pamphlet, which took the form of a letter to Lord Harrowby in answer to one by him, which had appeared in the newspapers, was completed, and approved of by the Duke. It went, I believe, to the shop of Roake and Varty in the Strand, the great publishers at that time of everything that was written in opposition to the Reform Bill, and did just as much, and just as little, as its congeners to embarrass the Government. Indeed I had forgotten all about it and the little incident which connected it with Mrs. Arbuthnot, till I read it, reproduced in the great Duke's published correspondence. Then came back to me very vividly the recollection of a scene to which I affixed no significance at the moment, but which I now believe was not without a meaning. To the com-

pilation of the pamphlet I used generally to devote the hours between breakfast and luncheon. On the day but one previous to the breaking up of the party, I declined accompanying the rest on some excursion, that I might put a finishing touch to the document. Having completed the job, I strolled out into the pleasure-grounds, where, a little to my surprise, I was almost immediately joined by Mrs. Arbuthnot. Our acquaintance had by this time been of considerable standing; and as I greatly admired her, and she was good enough to make me fancy that my conversation was not disagreeable to her, we chatted as usual for a while, discussing the prospects of contending parties, and then stopping and turning towards me she said, somewhat abruptly:

"By the bye—why did'nt you go with the rest to-day?"

"Because I was busy, and had not time."

"Hadn't time," she rejoined, looking me full in the face. "Why, what were you doing? I have noticed that you went to your own room, every morning after breakfast, and we saw no more of you till luncheon. Now tell me honestly what you do there? We wanted you yesterday to go with us to Silchester. Why didn't you come?" There was an arch smile on the lady's face when she said this, which made me smile also. It was quite true that the Duke did come to my room the previous day, about twelve o'clock, but certainly

not for the purpose of enticing me away from the work on which I was engaged, and though not the shadow of a suspicion crossed my mind that she was trying to pump me, I thought it would be good fun to evade the question.

"It happens," was my answer, "that I was terribly in arrears with many matters, and that leaving home just at this time was rather inconvenient, so I am obliged to work here, when I would much rather go about with you."

Mrs. A. "Oh, that won't do! I know you have something particular in hand. The Duke knows it too; you can't deceive *me*. What is it?"

I, laughing outright. "Well, if I really have something particular on hand, and the Duke knows what it is, why don't you ask him? You know, and I know, he keeps no secrets from you."

Mrs. A., laughing also. "Oh, I see you are determined to make a mystery, and won't give me a clue. *I* will show you some of my letters if you like, but I don't think they would interest you."

In this manner the conversation went on, the lady pressing her point, I evading it, more, I now believe, because the whole proceeding amused me, than because of any idea that to the Duke it would have signified a farthing whether I had told her the truth or not. I believed then, and still believe, that mine was not one of the secrets which he cared to withhold from her, still I was well pleased at the moment, and continued to be well pleased,

that I kept my own counsel; assuming her to have asked under instruction, the issue of our conference —if fairly reported—must have told in my favour; if unfairly reported, I might suffer from the report, but should have the satisfaction of knowing that I suffered unjustly.

Other stories were told of her, tending in the same direction, and some of them much more discreditable either to her or to those who gave them circulation. I offer no opinion as to their credibility further than that I myself was, and continue to be, slow to believe them. Be this, however, as it may, her worst enemies could not but acknowledge that her devotion to the Duke, and her unbending fidelity to his interests, were beyond question. So likewise her tact and wisdom in holding intercourse with him did as much credit to her understanding as to her heart. She never bored him by any ostentatious show of admiration. It could not be said of her as it was said of others—that she ever threw herself in his way. But whatever might be her engagements or occupations, she at once threw them aside as often as he notified his desire, whether in town or country, to converse with her. Yet close and intimate as the communication between these two persons was, the most censorious found it impossible to point to a situation in which the most distant approach to wrong-doing could be predicated of either of them. As often as she was the Duke's guest, either at Walmer or Strath-

fieldsaye, her husband was his guest also. The doors of her house in Carlton Terrace were indeed always open to the Duke, and arm-in-arm they would walk like brother and sister through the streets; but if, when he was with her, other visitors called, they were in no case refused admittance, and Regent Street is scarcely the locality which persons meditating any outrage on decorum would select as the place of recreation.

There are those who discredit the possible existence of a pure and lasting friendship between persons of opposite sexes. I do not belong to their number. I believe, on the contrary, that such friendships are more frequent than the world supposes, and that wherever they are formed and confirmed by time, they elevate the natures of both parties. Of the depth and endurance of Mrs. Arbuthnot's friendship for the Duke, and his to her, there can be no doubt. To the last moment of her conscious existence this hero-worship retained its influence over her. She was taken ill at Arbuthnot's country-house, I think, with gastric fever, and feeling that her case was hopeless, she sent for the Duke. He hurried down and arrived just in time to receive, so to speak, her last breath. She died with one hand clasped in his, and the other in the hand of her husband.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN WILSON CROKER.

Of this gentleman it is not necessary that in these sketches I should say much. Mr. Jennings has told his story admirably and at length, and in the review of his book, contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine*, in the numbers for November and December 1884, I have taken a tolerably accurate measurement of the place which belongs to Croker among the worthies of his own generation. It is a distinguished one, undoubtedly, and might have been still more so but for certain obvious defects in Croker's composition. His abilities were of a very high order, his reading was extensive, and his industry untiring. Had he persistently followed any one out of three courses in life that were open to him, nothing could have prevented his attaining to a foremost place in it. He had but to choose between law, literature, and politics, and perfect success in one or the other would have been the consequence. But he preferred dabbling in all three, and the result was something far short of the eminence at which, in any one of them, he had a right to aspire. Unfortunately, also, he made his first start as an author in a line which could not fail to make enemies; and never, to the close of his career, could he succeed in removing from the public mind the evil impression thus early created. There was, moreover, a good deal in Croker's off-hand manner which offended as much as it enter-

tained society. Meet him when you might, and in company with whomsoever you would, he insisted on your regarding him as the most important person present. His talk was incessant on all manner of subjects—generally more or less instructive, no doubt, and sometimes amusing; but the worst of it was, he appeared incapable of understanding that there are times and places for all things. For example, though no sportsman in the well-understood sense of that term, Croker used to accept invitations to shooting-parties at Strathfieldsaye and elsewhere. Not even when the line was formed (and the Duke formed his shooting-line exactly as he would have done his line of battle) and the march through woods and copses began, not even then could Croker hold his tongue; but, regardless of the effect on both game and shooters, persisted in pouring out, at the top of his voice, whatever story or notion occurred to him. Provoked as they often were, his comrades to the right and left could not help being diverted by all this. But when over the dinner-table or in the drawing-room he insisted on laying down the law, not even the soundness of his views, and the clearness with which they were expressed, sufficed on all occasions to prevent his being regarded as a bore. I myself once heard him lecture the Duke of Wellington on the manœuvres which preceded the battle of Talavera. I never forgot the moral with which the discussion ended. "Well, Duke, you may say what you please, but if history should fail to do

you justice, you will live for ever in my poem as the hero of that day!"

Born in Galway, the son of a gentleman high in the Inland Revenue Department, Croker graduated in Trinity College, Dublin, whence, in 1800, he passed over to London that he might study law in Lincoln's Inn. Soon after this he began to send contributions to the *Times*, and by-and-by, in co-operation with the authors of the *Rejected Addresses*, set up a weekly newspaper of his own. It soon died a natural death, whereupon, author in his own proper person, he published two excellent books, or rather pamphlets, which offended many, more than they amused, by satirising both the Irish stage and the tone of general society in Dublin. We find him next a practising barrister on the Connaught Circuit, and in due time returned to Parliament as a Member for the Borough of Down-patrick. His success in the House of Commons was as striking as it was immediate. He spoke on the first night, after taking his seat, and to such excellent purpose, as to attract the attention of Canning and to secure the good opinion of the future Duke of Wellington. But that which opened for him the door of advancement was his successful defence of the Duke of York against the attack made upon His Royal Highness's character by Colonel Wardle and Mrs. Clarke.

It was perhaps unfortunate on the whole for Croker that he should have attained very early in his career to a well-paid office under Government.

Had it been convenient for him to retain his independence for a few more years, devoting his time and attention exclusively to politics, it is scarcely going too far to say that he might and probably would have been called upon to form an administration of his own; for he entered Parliament when very young. His views, so far as they may have been at that time settled, were in advance of those of the party with which on principle he acted; and both his skill in debate and his aptitude for business were recognised from the outset by all who came in contact with him. A man thus favoured by circumstances needed only the presence of a lofty ambition to bring within his reach the highest honours of the State. But we are none of us masters of our own destiny. Croker was not, like Peel, a rich man; nor like Canning, the protégé of a powerful Prime Minister. The offer of the Secretaryship of the Admiralty was too tempting to be declined, and the place itself too comfortable to be rashly thrown away. Hence Croker subsided under its influence into the desultory essayist, and the chosen friend and adviser of statesmen, none of them either more able or more honest than himself.

Mr. Jennings has made it clear that many sins of authorship were laid at Croker's door of which he was not guilty. It is not the fact that he assailed either Miss Martineau or Mr. Disraeli in the *Quarterly Review*. For the attacks made by them upon him, not even the poor excuse of out-

raged vanity can be pleaded. We cannot say so much of his manner of handling the writings of Maurice and Kingsley, and—what is infinitely less excusable—the men themselves, through their works. Maurice was neither a heretic nor a demagogue, nor was Kingsley a communist. They were simply Christian enthusiasts, whose aims were as praiseworthy as in the present state of society they were unattainable; and certainly were far from deserving the ferocious onslaught that was made upon them in the pages of the *Quarterly*. Poor Lady Morgan might be fairer game, yet not by Croker was she run down, though she and her friends held him responsible for the biting critiques which did their best to make her ridiculous. Croker took very little heed of the outcry to which his assumed delinquencies gave rise. It may even be a question whether, on the whole, he was not pleased with it, for his was not a very sensitive nature; and to be an object of violent hatred was to him proof that he was feared, and to be feared was perhaps more acceptable to his self-consciousness than to be loved. Let me not, however, be misunderstood. Croker was as capable of strong attachments as of strong antipathies. His friendship for Canning was as sincere as it was lasting, and his feelings for the Duke of Wellington amounted to something like reverence. With Sir Walter Scott, with Southey, with Lockhart, with Sir Henry Hardinge, he maintained very kindly relations, though more perhaps like one who

confers a favour than is gratified by the intimacy. How the intimacy between him and Peel first began I do not know, but the characters of the two men were in many respects so different, that an intimacy which seemed for many years to be based on unity of sentiment proved after all to have had no surer foundation than mutual convenience. Croker, as he has himself confessed, regarded allegiance to party as the first duty of a statesman. Peel harboured no sentiment of this kind, because his early associations galled him, so that he looked upon allegiance to the claims of party to be incompatible with due regard to the public wellbeing. Be this, however, as it may, Peel and Croker came gradually to discover that, while avowedly working together, their aims were different. That breach between them occurred which, in my poor opinion, tells as much against Peel's moral nature as the causes which led up to it take away from his reputation as a wise statesman.

If Peel, by whatever motive guided, at once betrayed his own followers and played into the hands of their rivals, Croker cannot be altogether credited with unwavering fidelity to party. There is this, no doubt, to be said in defence of the course he took on a memorable occasion, that he believed it at the outset to be the best that could be followed, looked at from a party point of view, and that when partially disabused on that head, he had gone too far in one direction to retrace his steps.

I allude to the part he played on the occasion of Lord Liverpool's illness, and after Canning's successful intrigue to become Lord Liverpool's successor. No blame surely could attach to him for believing that among the existing Cabinet Canning was the best qualified to become its chief. And so believing, it was but natural he should endeavour to win over both the Duke and Peel to his own views. But it seems impossible to justify his manner of proceeding after it became clear to him that the administration, of which Canning was at the head, could not carry on the government, except with the support of the Whigs, to whom Croker had all his life been opposed. Canning, as is well known, would have been well pleased to keep his old colleagues about him, at all events at the outset of his career. That he would have gradually weeded some of them out—assuming the King to have lived and supported him—no one who knew him intimately could doubt. And possibly had these contingencies befallen, a better order of things might have been brought about than actually came to pass. But all with whom, up to that moment, Croker had been accustomed to act, refused to serve under Canning, and nothing remained for the new member except either to resign or to seek support from the Opposition. Even thus supported, however, his tenure of office could not but have been precarious. Such a coalition as he had it in his power to form, must lean for support more on the favour of the Crown

than on the support of Parliament, because in the Lords it was in a decided minority, and on a prominent majority in the Commons, influenced as the constituencies then were, he could not reckon. Croker, in urging Canning to pay court to the factions in small boroughs, went far enough to consider the party coalition, as he himself understood the case. He passed a long way outside of it when he brought the Duke of Clarence to the Admiralty, and congratulated Canning on thus securing the support of two sovereigns. His well-known boast—"Play your cards well, and you are minister for two reigns"—fell upon the ear of one whose days were numbered. Canning survived this utterance scarcely six months, and Croker found himself for a brief space isolated, because mistrusted by new friends as well as old.

Most men, after such a fiasco, would have withdrawn as much as possible from active interference with State affairs. There was no reason why he should resign his place at the Admiralty, because the fact of having served out of the Cabinet under both Canning and Robinson could not place him in antagonism towards whatever Tory Government might be formed. It might diminish the confidence heretofore placed in him by the Duke and Peel—and for a little while it had this effect, so far at least as Peel was concerned. But it imposed no necessity on either, in the event of power passing into his hands, to send Croker about his business;

and Croker, fully understanding this, proved true to himself. Instead of holding back while the Robinson Cabinet was in difficulties, he advised Disraeli to bring the Duke into his Cabinet, and failing that, he urged that a command of the army should be pressed upon him. He took care that the Duke should know what he had done, and hence, when the crisis came, he was at once taken back by his first patron into favour. And never again, through good report or evil, can it be said of him that he wavered in his allegiance. When the battle of the first Reform Bill came on, he was at once the ablest and the most uncompromising supporter of the Duke's policy. If he declined, at a subsequent period, to help the Duke and Lord Lyndhurst to form an administration, small blame attaches to him. He had then no seat in Parliament, and though one might perhaps have been found for him, he knew, and so did the Duke and Lord Lyndhurst, that his presence in the Cabinet would add nothing to its strength. Peel, the Duke never entirely forgave for deserting him on that occasion, any more than Peel ever forgave the Duke for using him as an instrument in passing the Catholic Emancipation Act. But both the Duke and Peel knew perfectly well that, however useful he might be as an outside adviser, Croker, because of his excessive self-appreciation, would have made by no means an agreeable member of a Cabinet.

Croker, like the Duke, took a very gloomy view of the effects of the Reform Act. Both regarded

it as the first step towards a great social as well as political revolution, and both expected that the monarchy would not last their day. So completely, indeed, had this conviction forced itself on Croker's mind, that I once heard him say to the Duke: "If you and I were twenty years younger, the best thing we could do would be to emigrate. As it is, I advise you to follow my example by withdrawing as much of your personal property as possible from the English funds and investing it in American or Russian securities." Whether Croker really took this step, or was only speaking at random, as he sometimes did, I do not know. The latter was, I suspect, the real ground of the suggestion, to which the Duke was too much of a patriot to pay any regard.

They who desire to know what Croker was as a politician and essayist will do well to read Mr. Jenning's volumes. There Croker paints his own portrait in letters and extracts from diaries which cannot be misunderstood. I have to deal with him here only as a member of society whom it was my good fortune occasionally to meet, and of whom many stories were told. His appearance was decidedly in his favour. His features were good, and his general expression that of a man of high intellect slightly, one remarked, or more than slightly, marred by a tinge of self-assurance. To use a vulgar phrase, he was as cool a hand, however socially placed, as it is possible to conceive. No

presence whatever abashed him, nor did he scruple to interrupt and talk down any one who threatened to come between him and the lead in conversation.

His clever defence of the Duke of York in the famous Wardle case gained him the friendship of the royal family, and he appeared quite as much at ease when a guest at any of their tables, as at that of any nobleman or commoner within the circle of his acquaintance. For example, it happened on one occasion that during a dinner at Carlton House Croker sat next to the Duke of Clarence. They were conversing together, when the King, who could not overhear what was said, called out suddenly, "Croker, what are you two talking about?"

"Nothing very particular, sir," was Croker's reply. "His Royal Highness is only telling me what he means to do when he becomes King." George IV. winced a little for a moment, being very sensitive on that head, but he soon recovered himself, and laughed aloud, the whole party, as in duty bound, laughing in chorus.

Much was made, in disparagement of him, by Croker's enemies, of his intimacy with the Marquis of Hertford. The Lord Hertford of Croker's day was beyond all doubt a very disreputable person, whose acquaintance, were society such as we could wish it to be, respectable men and women would have shunned. But society is not as yet, and is

not, I fear, likely to become such as could be wished at any period short of the millennium. As long as rank and wealth continue to be objects of ambition, their possessors will command attention—be their moral conduct what it may—provided always that they keep clear of certain offences against which society, by the establishment of arbitrary laws, has guarded itself. And if to high rank and great wealth be added abilities above the common level, with much influence in politics, the magnate so favoured becomes, I am afraid, a fit companion for bishops. Croker, a young member of Parliament, attracted the attention, among others, of Lord Yarmouth, and saw no reason why he should reject the friendship of a man, apparently well thought of by the leaders of his own party, and who, on the death of his father, must become Marquis of Hertford, and owner of not fewer than seven seats in the House of Commons. That he ever countenanced the orgies of his patron is a gross calumny invented by his enemies. He could not, indeed, be ignorant that such things were. Nobody in London or Paris was ignorant, but the hospitalities of Sedbomme he shared with such guests as the Duke of Grafton, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Duke of Wellington, of whom not even the most rabid of partisans could venture to insinuate that any approach to indecent associations would by them be tolerated. Again, it is quite true that Croker

watched over the management of Lord Hertford's affairs, and in doing so rendered him very important services. But it is not true that he was paid for so doing. On the contrary, he refused a handsome salary which Lord Hertford pressed upon him; and if at Lord Hertford's death he succeeded to a legacy, it was scarcely more in amount than a wealthy nobleman, without legitimate sons or daughters to provide for, might be expected to bequeath to a confidential friend.

The Duke, much as he liked Croker, had no objection to see him shut up, as occasionally happened, when laying down the law. It fell to my lot on one occasion to correct him, after he had been demonstrating to a large party at the Duke's table that, but for the Revolution of 1688, it was quite possible that a descendant of Napoleon I. might have become heir to the English throne. This he showed by pointing out how the Houses of Sardinia and Austria became connected, and how Napoleon, having married an Austrian princess, might have been the ancestor of some future English sovereign. He quite overlooked the fact that the line of succession must have been through the wife of Louis XIV., if by any chance a French prince were to become a candidate for the British throne, and was by no means pleased when, having had recent occasion to write up the question, I was able to set him right. He did as was his custom when thus beset—he argued and blus-

tered, and at last became silent. The Duke was greatly amused, and repeated the little incident with infinite humour to more than one set of visitors afterwards. Croker never stood so high in the estimation of his party as during the debates that immediately preceded the passing of Lord Grey's Reform Act. No speaker in the House came near him for promptitude in reply, and the skill with which the arguments of the members and their supporters were pulled to pieces. He was especially happy in exposing Macaulay's frequent misquotations of history, and earned in consequence the lasting hatred of that able, though far from generous, rival. When Lord Grey resigned, after his defeat in the House of Lords, in Committee, Croker was invited to join the Duke in forming an administration. This he declined, possibly, perhaps, because he saw that the game was up. Be this, however, as it may, I venture to doubt whether either then, or at any future period, Croker's presence in the Cabinet would have been acceptable to the bulk of those with whom he would have been called to act. An admirable partisan all admitted him to be. But, except to the Duke of Wellington, he was never known to have yielded a single point on any controverted subject; and a man who cannot take as well as give on all subjects which admit of controversy, would prove, however able, a source of weakness, rather than of strength, to a Cabinet. Whether Croker himself

felt this, as much as others felt it, I do not know; but he steadily resisted all the efforts that were made to bring him back into Parliament after the Reform Act became law, and thereby made it impossible for outsiders to suspect that when the tide of public opinion turned in favour of the Conservatives his admitted claim to high office had been set aside.

The Peel administration which was formed in 1841 Croker supported with his pen as long as it was possible for him to do so. He had, doubtless, begun to distrust somewhat the head of that administration before he took office; but against this misgiving he manfully struggled, even after the feeling was shared with him by a considerable section of the party. Hence the sternness with which, acting in concert with Peel, he denounced Disraeli's exposure of "the organised hypocrisy"; for down to the very eve of the surrender no political article appeared in the *Quarterly Review* till it had been read, or in substance approved, by the Prime Minister.

At last, however, came that rupture which, while it must have for ever kept them apart as politicians, gave no warrant for the tone of Peel's letter, which put an end to all personal intercourse between men who had been friends for forty years.

That Croker suffered much from the quarrel admits of no doubt. Peel, cold, and wrapped up in self, cared no more about it than he did about

treating the great Duke with something like disrespect, while pretending to work with him.

If his adherence to principles of which Peel long professed himself to be the champion cost Croker the loss of one friend, it had no power to alienate from him another. The Duke, for reasons he has himself left on record, supported Peel in a policy of which he disapproved, but did not therefore withdraw his confidence from Croker, who wrote against it. Apsley House, Stratfieldsaye, and Walmer Castle were still as open to Croker as they had ever been, and the correspondence of the two men, if more restricted—for the Duke was beginning to find writing laborious—lacked nothing of its old cordiality and openness. The one did not long survive the other. Croker, though the younger of the two by eleven years, died first, after a protracted illness, though not till after they had taken leave of one another, in an interview of which in the Croker papers a touching account is given. The memorandum of what passed between them Croker circulated long ago among his friends. Mr. Jennings has done good service to the memories of both by reprinting it in his valuable memoirs.

Croker was charged by some of his envious contemporaries—and he had many—with doing nothing, though himself a prolific and successful writer, for literature and men of letters. He gave his cousin a clerkship in the admiralty, and doubtless would

have done more for him had he not been the author of *The Fairy Legends of Ireland.* But Dr. Giffard, long the editor of the *Standard,* with whom he had close relations, he allowed to die in a state of bankruptcy, and Maginn, whom likewise he encouraged in his Tory diatribes, he entirely neglected. Maginn was one of those brilliant men of genius whom it was impossible effectively to serve. It rested entirely with himself to be either independent or in constant difficulties. He could earn with perfect ease an income more than sufficient for all his wants; and from time to time he did earn it. But such was his reckless extravagance that he went about in constant fear of arrest, and was repeatedly bailed by his friends out of a sponging-house. Had Croker found for him employment in the public service, he would have neglected it just as he did the sub-editorship of the *Standard,* which Giffard procured for him. But though debarred, and justly debarred, from putting such a man in a place of trust, Croker did give him money, and got more for him in his last illness from Sir Robert Peel. As to Dr. Giffard, I question whether he would have accepted any favour at Croker's hands. A proud man, and firmly believing that as editor of a newspaper he was a power in the State, Dr. Giffard certainly never solicited or expected that any minister of the Crown, and especially Croker, would provide for him. But if these and a few similar cases were pointed to, some years ago, as

proofs of Croker's heartlessness, we have ample proof now of his readiness to serve both literature in the abstract and men of letters, being at the same time men of character. How he effected these ends Mr. Jennings has told us.

On the whole, Croker was a very remarkable man. His faults were those of temperament and manner. His good qualities were not over-balanced by them. His abilities were of a high order, and as I have elsewhere said, if he failed to achieve the highest honours in any one walk of life, it was because he frittered away his powers in too many.

Lord Clanwilliam

It was to Walmer Castle in the year 1831, I think, that Lord Clanwilliam brought his newly-wedded wife—a daughter of the Earl of Pembroke and sister to Sidney Herbert. Lord Clanwilliam was then a handsome man, with as much of the Thun blood in his veins as that of the Meades. His mother, a member of that powerful Bohemian family, gave him his dark complexion, dark brown eye, and regular features. He was above the middle height, well made, and active. His wife, without being critically beautiful, was one of the most attractive women I ever saw. She, too, like her lord, was of mixed origin, her mother being a daughter of Prince Woronsow, for many years Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James,

a charming person, who long survived her husband, and died, just as the Crimean War came to an end, in her own house in Grafton Street.

What Lord Clanwilliam might have achieved had he done justice to the talents with which he was gifted it is hard to say. He began life as a diplomatist, was attached to the Duke's Embassy at Vienna when Napoleon returned from Elba, and at the close of the Waterloo campaign was transferred to Paris. France was at that time in a very disturbed condition. The wreck of Napoleon's army had disbanded itself, and overspread the whole face of the country with bands of brigands. The young diplomatist fell into the midst of one of these gangs, and used to give a ludicrous description of the treatment he received from them. Not content to deprive him of his money and watch, they stripped him to the skin, and left only a worn-out military cloak to cover his nakedness. In this plight he made good what remained of his journey to Paris, and proceeded at once to the British Embassy, when the servants refused to believe his story, and ordered him out of the house. And out of the house he would have been turned, but that Lord Stratford de Redcliffe happened to pass through the hall when the discussion was going on, and recognised the voice of the intruder. This, of course, saved him.

Why he gave up his profession after serving at more than one foreign court is accounted for in two

ways. One maliciously charges him with an act of indecorum at Berlin, which, if it ever occurred at all, must have been the result of a moment's want of thought. He had walked, it was said, from his lodgings on a summer evening to the house of a magnate in which a gathering of fashionables was held, and observing that his shoes were covered with dust, looked about for some means of cleansing them. Every hall table was crowned with a pyramid of plumed hats, every gentleman in Prussia in those days being a soldier, and no soldier ever appearing abroad except in uniform. Clanwilliam seized one of these hats, and without giving a moment's consideration to the light in which the proceeding might be regarded, flipped the dust off his shoes with the plume. The moral drawn from the fable, if fable it be, is that the whole Prussian army became furious, and that getting a hint that his further stay in Berlin could be dispensed with, he quitted at once the Prussian capital and the profession. Lord Clanwilliam himself gave another, and, I suspect, a more accurate account of the motives which induced him to retire into private life. "There are two classes of people in the world," he said to me, "workers and drones. I belong, and always did, to the latter. As soon as my father died, and I became independent, I got out of harness, and have never since been tempted to encumber myself with it again." The fact, for it was one so far as his manner of life came under my

notice, was much to be regretted, for he was not only an accomplished but an able man. He spoke and wrote correctly almost every European language, and on every question discussed, whether it dealt with politics, or literature, or art, he had always something to say that was worth hearing. But continuous labour appeared to be intolerable to him. Hence he divided his time in almost equal proportions with the amenities of society and field sports. You found him in London, as long as the season lasted, now dispensing such hospitalities as clever men delight in, now mixing freely in crowds, where he was always welcome, then rushing off when the proper time came, either to kill salmon in Scotland—and he was a first-class fisherman—or to shoot chamois in the Alps, or wild boars in Bohemia, or wolves and bears in Hungary or Russia. His life, certainly, could not be called a stirring one, but it was both an innocent and a happy one. His charming wife never lost her hold on his affections, and shared with him his rural sports, as well as his recreations. She died in 1855 at a Highland inn, whither they had gone for salmon fishing, and he can never again be said to have been the same man. The letter I received from him in answer to one I wrote on hearing of his bereavement was as touching as a letter could be; but it failed to express all he felt. Poor fellow, I went with him years after into his bedroom and found that beside his own uncurtained

crib stood that in which, after her Bohemian fashion, his wife used to repose, and that on a line with the foot of his bed hung a portrait of the loved and lost, which he had removed from the drawing-room, in order that on it his eye might rest the last thing on extinguishing his candle at night, the first thing on awaking in the morning.

He was by far too manly, however, to let the world see into the depths of his heart. He returned after a season to some of his old habits, and especially to his autumnal excursions into foreign lands, and retained his vigour of body to such an extent that at eighty-one he held his own against Tyrolean huntsmen, both in scaling the mountains and in bringing down his game.

Lord Clanwilliam could say sharp things when he liked, and was not by any means particular against whom they might be directed. The Duke of Cumberland, the same who on the death of William IV. became King of Hanover, made a point when in Berlin of appearing on all State occasions in the uniform of a Prussian cavalry colonel. Meeting Clanwilliam on one occasion, dressed, as was the fashion for all diplomatists, in an embroidered blue coat, with red facings, white breeches, and silk stockings, his Royal Highness shouted out, "Why, Clanwilliam, you look like a livery servant." "Perhaps I do, sir," was the answer, "but the livery I wear is that of my own master, and not that of a foreign Sovereign."

I have spoken of the devotion of my old friend to his wife. She was in every respect worthy of it. Full of talent, full of knowledge, yet in the best and holiest meaning of the term, a true woman. Whether conversing with wits, or chatting with young ladies, or superintending the affairs of her household, she was always, and in every situation exactly what you could have wished her to be. Her little dinners were some of the most agreeable in London. The guests, rarely exceeding half-a-dozen, were always agreeable, and often gifted. You met among them the Ambassadors of Austria and Russia, with whom it was always pleasant to converse, because they put no reserve, or appeared to put none, on what they said; and their anecdotes, both of their own and of foreign courts, were often racy. Of all, or almost all, including host and hostess, it can only be said, while I write these lines, that their place knoweth them no more.

Clanwilliam took no active part in politics after the era of the first Reform Act. His views were, for the most part, those of the Peelites, doubtless because of his connection with Sidney Herbert; but when he took his place—which was seldom—in the House of Lords, he sat on the Cross benches. Like the Peelites in general, his feeling towards Mr. Disraeli was one of strong personal dislike, yet he so far controlled it as never to go into violent opposition even after the death of Lord Derby. Naturally enough, he disapproved of the strong

ante-Reform policy which found no favour with the Tory Government, but he made no public move in opposition to it, contenting himself by censuring its objects in private letters.

On the death of Lord Dalhousie, the Duke of Wellington, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, nominated Lord Clanwilliam to the captaincy of Deal Castle. In a pecuniary point of view the appointment was little worth, but it gave to the incumbent a marine residence, next to that of Walmer Castle perhaps the most agreeable on the south-east coast. To Lord Clanwilliam the gift was particularly acceptable, as he had no country house in England, and not any to which he was in the habit of going, on his property in Ireland. A portion of every autumn he spent at Deal, as long as Lady Clanwilliam lived, much to her satisfaction and to the delight of his sons and daughters.

How far their familiarity with the sea and all its moods created or only nourished a passion in his sons for adventure, I do not know, but two of them entered the navy, the eldest to earn a good name as an officer, and to reach flag rank; the younger, to fall a sacrifice to his zeal in the service. Torpedoes were things unknown in this country forty years ago. Young Meade, then a lieutenant, turned his attention to the subject and worked hard to perfect an instrument, if not precisely the same with that which has since expanded into a recognised implement in war, in principle closely corresponding to

it. When filling the shell with which his craft was to be armed, a spark unfortunately fell upon some loose powder; an explosion followed, and Meade, as well as the seamen who aided him in his labours, was killed on the spot.

One fact more I may venture to state in connection with my old friend's fondness for Deal Castle: it was there that he suggested to me the undertaking of a work which I subsequently completed, and towards the completion of which he was of great service to me. I allude to the translation of Brialmont's *Life of the Duke of Wellington*, on the military portion of which the people's edition of my own volume is mainly founded.

Lord Clanwilliam retained his vigour both of body and mind to a great age. In 1880, however, his strength began to fail, and he became subject to frequent attacks of bronchitis. In 1880 he died, having reached his eighty-sixth year.

The Marquis of Salisbury

From the list of guests at Walmer Castle, the names of Lord Salisbury[1] and his charming (first) wife must not be omitted. Lord Salisbury possessed a large share of the Duke of Wellington's confidence, and deserved it. Without being brilliant, he was endowed with the more solid gifts of great good sense and a sound judgment. Like

[1] The second Marquis, who died in 1868.

his illustrious friend, he held that such measures as Catholic Emancipation ought to be dealt with on grounds of expediency rather than of abstract principle. The disability to which, however, Catholics were subjected at the period of the Revolution in 1688 had been imposed for special reasons, and the reasons for their imposition having, in his opinion, lost their force, justice required that the disabilities should be removed. At the same time he held that, looking to the condition of Ireland, where the great landed proprietors, or most of them, professed one religion, and the bulk of the people, including a majority of the shopkeeping and perhaps also the professional classes, adhered to another, the entire and unconditional repeal of the laws as they existed in 1827 would be unwise. While, therefore, during Lord Liverpool's administration, he inclined more to Canning's views on that head than to those of Lord Eldon, he seems to have kept in reserve a condition, without securing which he would not be a party to repeal; though the opportunity of explaining what it was never occurred till the Duke became Prime Minister. We all feel now that George III.'s determination to abdicate rather than consent to break in upon the settlement of 1688, was a great misfortune to the country. Had he yielded to the remonstrances of his faithful minister Pitt, Ireland might have been ere now as amenable a portion of the empire as Scotland or

Wales. For in 1801 the faith of the Irish in their French allies was shaken, and Napoleon's treatment of the Pope a few years later made them positively hostile to him.

Nor can it be denied that the good King's obstinacy afforded too much ground for the complaint that Ireland had been cajoled into the parliamentary union with England. For though it be quite true that the Cabinet, of which Pitt was the head, never gave, as such, an explicit promise, nor anything like an explicit promise, that emancipation would follow at once upon the union; it is equally certain that individuals connected with the Irish Government won over many, who would have otherwise voted against them in the Irish Parliament, to expect that such would be the sequence of events. The consequence was, that a measure carried by means of deceit as well as gross corruption, so far from drawing the Irish and English people together, produced a directly opposite effect. To the wrongs inflicted on their manufacturing industries by a British Parliament—for the Acts passed for the avowed purpose of protecting British industry ruined that of Ireland—was now added the bitter thought that in a point at least as interesting to the people at large as either their woollen or their cotton trades, they had been over-reached. Nor did these evils come alone. The suppression of the Irish Parliament gave a prodigious impulse to absenteeism, the greatest curse that ever befell

a purely agricultural country, of which the effects were soon apparent in country-houses falling everywhere into ruins, and towns, including Dublin itself, deserted by the gentry.

Lord Salisbury was too young to have been in any way connected with this great political move, either in promoting or opposing it. Maynooth likewise had been established, and was in full swing, before he entered public life. He could therefore only notice with regret, as others did, the evil influence which this exercised over the people through their clergy. Mr. Pitt doubtless meant well when he provided for Irish aspirants to the priesthood a place of education in their own land. He persuaded himself that, trained amid home associations, a new generation of religious teachers would inculcate loyalty upon their flocks. He was mistaken. The old priest educated at Douay or Salamanca belonged not infrequently to a good family. He might not be satisfied with his position when he returned to Ireland—how indeed could he be? But, with rare exceptions, he held aloof from secret conspiracies, and lived on excellent terms with such neighbours as still lingered on their estates, whether they were Roman Catholics or Protestants. It is not pretended that he did not share in the general discontent that prevailed among his flock. On the contrary, he made no secret of his abhorrence of the deceit which had been practised on them as he contended, but he opposed himself to unconstitu-

tional means of redressing the wrong, his hostility to the Government being passive, rather than active.

I am not now, be it observed, stating anything on the authority of mere tradition. I began my military career in Ireland so long ago as 1812, and found priests, educated abroad, still carrying on their ministrations in many parishes. With several I became personally acquainted, and found them to be at once well-informed gentlemen and agreeable companions. They slid out, however, by degrees, and were succeeded by the very worst specimens of an ecclesiastical body in Europe. Taken almost exclusively from the small farmer class, and imbued with all their prejudices, the Maynooth priest is trained to consider himself the consecrated Protector of the People against a tyrannical Government, and being dependent for subsistence on the voluntary offerings of his flock, he takes care to conciliate their good opinion by posing ostentatiously in this character. And very great is his influence so long as he guides the stream in the channel through which he finds it flowing; let him try to stop or divert it into another, and recent experience proves that he is powerless.

More than one opportunity presented itself between 1801 and 1829 of enlisting the Irish priesthood on the side of the Government, but no advantage was taken of them. In Pitt's plan, for a plan he had, though prevented from bringing it forward, provision was made for subdividing the

whole body. What the "Talents" intended to do when they acceded to office after his death is not so clear, further than that so determined were they to force the King's hand, that they took a step which gave him the much desired opportunity of getting rid of them.

Had Canning and Lord Wellesley succeeded in forming an administration, there is reason to believe that a measure of emancipation, somewhat similar to that which Pitt was desirous of carrying, would have been put forward. For up to that date the prospect of having a provision made for them, out of the public revenue, was hailed by the Romish hierarchy as very desirable. Nor did they refuse either then, or in 1824, to grant to the Crown a veto on the nomination of their Bishops. But when it was made clear to them that George IV., their earnest champion, while yet Prince of Wales, was become as hostile as his father had been, they began to see that a supplicant attitude would do nothing for them, and that only by working on the fears of the ministers could they hope to prevail. From that hour their tone was changed. Their champions in and out of Parliament made no more appeals to the generosity of the two Houses. What they demanded from their clients was, that they should be placed on a perfect equality, so far as political rights were concerned, with members of the Established Church, and in regard to ecclesiastical affairs on the same footing with Noncon-

formist bodies. As to concessions on the one hand, and favours to be conferred on the other, points like these entered no longer into public discussion.

The hierarchy had proclaimed that they would not accept payment from the State, nor permit the Crown to interfere in their ecclesiastical arrangements. What they demanded and what alone they would accept was the repeal of laws, some of which were so cruel that, for mere shame, nobody could now be found to put them in execution. They were content, they added, to subsist as their predecessors had done before them, on the liberality of the laity, provided that to the Roman Catholic laity the same rights and privileges were extended as to their Protestant fellow-subjects. It could not fail but that this show of disinterestedness should endear the priests to their flocks.

The boldest champion of the cause which they favoured was on all occasions the most abject in professions of respect for their order. O'Connell did nothing, or professed to do nothing, without the sanction of the clergy, and to what effect he made use of their influence over the masses everybody knows.

Had Canning lived to wield the power of the State any number of years, it is doubtful whether Catholic Emancipation would have been carried in that generation. He himself had been its advocate ever since he entered public life, but George IV.

had changed his mind, and Canning knew well that the first attempt on his part to put constraint upon the royal will would be followed by immediate dismissal from office. Nay more: had the Duke become Prime Minister in 1827 and Canning retained his vigour of body and mind, the Duke himself would have found it impossible in 1829 to carry the measure. The same thing may be said of the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, to which Canning always declared himself opposed, and in resisting which he would have voted with the ministry, just as he would have taken an opposite course whenever a Catholic Relief Bill might be brought forward. For though he had no sympathy with either Lord Eldon or Peel, he had as little liking for Lord Grey; and, making a pretence of deep consideration for the feelings of the sovereign, he would have delivered a brilliant speech and voted against the conclusion to which it naturally led. But Canning died, and the idea of forming a purely Canningite party died with him. The Duke came into power, and those events followed, of which the inevitable consequences are every day becoming more and more apparent.

Do I blame the Duke for conceding to the King's Roman Catholic subjects what ought to have been conceded to them twenty years previously? Not at all—neither did Lord Salisbury. But I do blame, as Lord Salisbury did, all those whether in the Cabinet or out of it, who forced the Duke to

erase from his Bill all the clauses which afforded any chance of rendering it politically effective for good. I allude to the provision made in the original draft of his scheme for bringing the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland under the control of the Government.

Whether the priesthood would have consented in 1829 to accept the salaries he proposed to settle upon them, and to take out licences from the civil power for the performance of their ecclesiastical functions is uncertain. In 1829 they officiated, subject to these conditions, in Holland and Prussia, nor could any good reason be assigned why they should not do the same in the United Kingdom. But their willingness or unwillingness to comply with the conditions proposed by the legislation was not, in the Duke's opinion, a matter for the Government to take into account. The time, he contended, had come for admitting Roman Catholic citizens within the pale of the constitution, and it rested entirely with the legislation and the government to determine in what manner this desirable end should be attained.

Full of this idea, and satisfied that with or without some show of reluctance the Irish priests would pocket their salaries and take out their licences, the Duke explained his scheme to Lord Salisbury, and requested him to move the address in the House of Lords in answer to the speech from the throne. This Lord Salisbury willingly consented

to do. But when the opposition of Peel and the Bishops compelled the Duke to modify his plan, Lord Salisbury felt himself obliged to retract his promise. He looked upon the rejected clauses as the main strength of the Bill, and could be no consenting party to a measure from which they were erased. The reply to the address was therefore moved, not by him, but by Lord de Ros, the senior English Baron, and a good soldier, but possessed neither of territorial nor much personal influence.

The passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill broke up the Tory party, and it did more. It embittered private feeling, making personal enemies of many who had been friends through life. On Lord Salisbury it did not operate thus mischievously; for whatever personal estrangement followed his refusal to move the address was entirely on the Duke's side. The estrangement, however, if such it deserved to be called, was not of long continuance, for Lord Salisbury, while lamenting that the Bill had not been more wisely drawn, abstained from voting against it; so likewise, after the dissolution he refused to join the band of discontented Tories, who with their eyes open to the inevitable consequence of the proceeding, combined with the Whigs to overthrow the Government. It was not, therefore, with him as it was with many others, both Peers and Commons, when the awful spectre of Parliamentary Reform rose up before them. He had no humble pie to eat, but as a steady ally he

fought side by side with the Duke the battle of the constitutional monarchy, and lost it.

It was during the height of this contest that I most frequently met Lord Salisbury and his charming wife at Walmer Castle. A good deal of correspondence passed between us both then and subsequently; but as it bore almost exclusively on the political questions of the hour, the insertion of any portion of our letters here would only tell over again the tale that has been told elsewhere.

Lord Salisbury took much interest, as was natural, in the politics of his own county. There, Mr., afterwards Sir Henry, Ward was his great adversary; for both had established, or were mainly instrumental in establishing, county newspapers, and both wrote—each for his own journal. Several of Lord Salisbury's letters to me referred to this matter, and asked for aid in the controversy, which I dare say was rendered. But Salisbury was something more than a political partisan; he was an admirable man of business, when working for the public good as Lieutenant-Colonel of the *Militia* and afterwards as Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex—or when improving his own property, which had somewhat got into confusion. With what measure of success the latter enterprise was attended may be judged of by his boast that he succeeded to a nominal rent of £25,000 a year, and would leave to his successor one of £70,000. The truth is that Lord Salisbury was no more ashamed to defeat

chicanery aimed at himself than to prevent or expose jobs in public affairs.

In 1835 a fire broke out which destroyed a considerable portion of Hatfield House. It originated in a suite of apartments occupied by the Dowager-Marchioness, a leader of fashion in the days of George III., and to the end of her life a conspicuous figure in London society. I see her, while I write, mounted, of an afternoon, on a horse, to which gossip, utterly false, affirmed that she was tied, and in the evening gorgeously dressed and covered with valuable jewels. She was then upwards of eighty years of age, falling indeed into her dotage, but still a thorough lady, and from time to time even brilliant.

The house was full of visitors when the fire broke out, but the old lady's apartments were so entirely removed from others, that the whole were in a blaze before the alarm was given. By no effort could they be reached, and all the water poured upon them by fire-engines from without produced no effect. At last the whole wing fell in, and of the dear old lady nothing was found amid the ruins except a few charred bones, near which lay in a molten state the settings of the ornaments she had worn at her last dinner. The effect produced upon all who witnessed the catastrophe may be imagined, and Lord Salisbury was overwhelmed with grief.

A great historic house could not however be left to become a ruin, and to restore it to the condition

in which it was prior to the fire must necessarily be attended with expense. Like a sensible man, Lord Salisbury set about the work of restoration judiciously. He made his contract with architect and builder, but stipulated that all necessary materials should be supplied by himself. How he got together stones, bricks, tiles and such like, the tradition has not been preserved, but the timber required—and both the quantity and variety were great—he provided thus. Dressed like a master carpenter, he visited numerous yards, and made all the necessary purchases on equitable terms, in other words on such terms as timber merchants consider to be fair, when dealing with the trade. There was of course a mighty clamour as soon as the timber merchants discovered the prank that had been played upon them. They did not so much as pretend to disguise the truth that had they been aware of the real condition of their customer, they would have charged at least fifty per cent. more for their goods than they knew them to be worth.

Lord Salisbury's hospitalities, both at Hatfield and in Grafton Street, were very liberal. He had an admirable helpmate in his first wife, who took in some sort the part of Lady Castlereagh in keeping the Tories together. I do not mean for a moment to undervalue the qualities of the lady who, on her lamented death, became Marchioness of Salisbury. The two were different in almost every respect, yet

each in her own way was most agreeable. Number two—at the moment when I write, Lady Derby—has perhaps more mind than her predecessor could boast of. She reads much and thinks deeply, she is gentle also, though somewhat retiring. Her part does not consist in making her soirées attractive; she never was nor ever can be a skilful recruiting officer for her political party. Her predecessor, on the other hand, won all hearts by her evident desire to please, and a tact which was the outcome less of knowledge of the world than of genuine goodness of heart. There was no country house far or near in which it was more satisfactory to find yourself the guest. From breakfast till luncheon, and again from luncheon till dinner you were master of your own time. If a sportsman you made one of a group for whom coverts stood open and beaters were in attendance. If you preferred riding, a saddle horse was at your disposal. During dinner the conversation was always lively, because your noble host took care to intermix wits and scholars with charming women, statesmen, and men about town. The band of his militia regiment, and a very fair band it was, played on more formal occasions just enough to fill up pauses without interrupting conversation. And finally, in the drawing-room, the sober whist-table, music, charades, and story-telling had their respective votaries till bed-time. I cannot recollect a dull evening at Hatfield, though when Theodore Hook was there, and there he often was,

the fun grew fast and furious. Poor Hook always drank his full share of wine topped up with an occasional glass of brandy and was thereafter in his glory. Seating himself at the piano he kept the company in a roar with his clever improvisations. Well would it have been for him had he gone to bed as most of us did at a reasonable hour. Instead of this, he gathered round him in his chamber some of the more thoughtless of his fellow-guests, for whom the butler provided cards and materials for punch; and morning often found them deep in play from which Hook rose almost always a loser. Hence not unfrequently when we met at breakfast, it was found that an unexpected summons had called him to London, the true cause of absence being this: that he had gone to borrow money at an exorbitant discount, wherewith to pay off I.O.U.'s and challenge other risks not often more fortunate than those which had preceded them in their issues. Let me not be misunderstood. Gambling was never countenanced in any shape at Hatfield, and that which went on on the sly could scarcely be accounted such. But Hook had a passion for play, which he could not conquer, and the charm of his wit brought young men about him who might have little or no taste for games of chance and lost or won with perfect honesty.

When the Tories grasped at power in 1835, Lord Salisbury gave them his support, though scarcely approving Peel's celebrated letter to his constituents.

He seems always to have distrusted Peel, yet he stood by him again in 1842, professing to believe that a minister so deeply pledged to his supporters would scarcely throw them over a second time without warning. Hence on the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the subsequent break-up of the Tory party, he threw in his lot with Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli.

In Lord Derby's last administration Lord Salisbury took office as President of the Council. That place he retained till the celebrated leap in the dark, when with Lord Carnarvon and General Peel he resigned. His life thereafter was that of a nobleman, not certainly indifferent to public affairs, but neither desirous nor competent to control them. He voted according to his conscience on every question that came before the House of Lords, thus holding himself entirely free from party obligations. At his death he left behind him an estate, much improved, and the character of a man just and honourable in all his dealings, shrewd in business, sagacious in council, and, though prudent, both generous, when the need arose, and hospitable.

CHAPTER V

"DII MINORUM GENTIUM"—*Continued.*

IF I were to particularise one by one all the members of this class of guests to whom the Duke's hospitalities were extended, a list of names of unconscionable length would disfigure my pages. From all parts of England, from Scotland and from Ireland, poured in between 1830 and 1832, from day to day, peers of the realm, members of the House of Commons, and aspirants for seats, the greater portion of whom had co-operated in overthrowing their host's administration. Repentant they were now when it was too late, and eager to be advised as to the course to be pursued by the very man whom in their interval of blind rage they had driven from power. His conduct to them all was marked by the greatest possible amount of generosity and forbearance. Never once in their presence did a syllable escape his lips of reference to the past—and to all their suggestions, however extravagant some of them might be, he listened with the utmost patience. Not that he did not feel the wrong they had done, less to himself than to the principles of which they pro-

fessed to be the guardians. "You see how they throng about me now," he said to me on one occasion, after all sorts of wild projects for resisting the abolition of nomination boroughs had been suggested. "As if I cared a two-penny damn whether their personal influence can be propped up or not. If, when masters of these boroughs, they had thought more of the country and less of themselves, the storm which threatened to sweep away all that made England what she is might never have come, and now they want me to put my neck in the noose—for what? That whenever I take a step again of which they disapprove, they may again overthrow the Government, of which they clamour that I should be the head. I will certainly do my best to defeat the Bill, but it will not be because I approve of the use these gentlemen made of their influence, but because under the new constitution which the ministers propose to give us I don't see how the King's Government is to be carried on."

Under these circumstances it will best suit my own inclination, and prove most agreeable perhaps to those who may read what is written, if passing by these selfish and not overwise magnates, I place in my gallery the portraits of one or two individuals, by no means unknown while they lived, though doubtless forgotten long ago even by their contemporaries, should any such survive.

Sir Charles Napier

It can hardly be said that Admiral Sir Charles Napier belonged to the order either of ciphers or oddities. Between him and the Duke there was indeed little in common, and the circumstances under which he became the Duke's guest at Walmer were scarcely calculated to convert acquaintance into intimacy. When Belgium broke away from Holland, and England joined France in undoing the work of her own hands, Sir Charles Napier commanded the English portion of the combined fleet which had it in charge to blockade the mouths of the Scheldt. Nothing could be more distasteful to the Duke than this alliance unless it were the object for which it had been contracted. But the gentleman was too strong in him to allow these feelings to operate against the officers who were acting in obedience to their respective Governments. He therefore invited both the French and the English admirals (the fleet being detained by stress of weather in the Downs) to dine and sleep at the castle. The French admiral declined, the English accepted, the invitation; and "dirty Charlie" arrived fully justifying in the condition of his attire the sobriquet which his contemporaries bestowed upon him. It is not necessary to describe in detail either the career or the personal appearance or manners of a man so well known as Sir Charles

Napier, both in society and in the House of Commons. A brave man, a good seaman, and a hard drinker, Napier reached the summit of his renown when with an inferior force he destroyed the fleet of Don Miguel, and opened thereby for the young Queen the way to the Portuguese throne. His latest services both against Belgium and Russia added no fresh laurel wreath to the chaplet already won. The English fleet had no share whatever in wresting Antwerp from the Dutch, and the naval campaign in the Baltic scarcely fulfilled the expectations which Sir James Graham's famous after-dinner speech at the Reform Club had created. At Walmer Castle Napier was very quiet, very ill dressed, and not over cleanly about the hands; and forasmuch as he takes his place in this portrait gallery only so far as he connects himself with his illustrious host, it scarcely becomes me to discuss at length either his public or private character. His correspondence with Delane while in command of the Baltic fleet gives indeed a curious insight into the influence exercised at that date over the fate of Empires by the *Times* newspaper. That, however, is a point on which it would be injudicious to dilate, because it could not be touched at all without reference to what was in point of fact the moving power which sent Lord Raglan and his army from Varna into the Crimea. Therefore we take our leave of "dirty Charlie" with this passing remark, that those who knew

him the most intimately esteemed him the most highly, though blind neither to his failings nor to the fact that daring courage was the one sailor-like quality which gained for him a good name both in the fleet and in the country.

Sir Robert Wilson

A very different style of man, both in dress and appearance, from Napier was General Sir Robert Wilson. In one respect, indeed, but only in one, they resembled each other. They were both boasters. But while Napier contented himself with magnifying his own exploits at sea, Wilson made the most of his exploits in the field and of his successes with the fair sex and his triumphs in diplomacy. That he should have regarded himself as a first-rate soldier is not perhaps to be wondered at. He had served in Egypt under Abercromby, and published a narrative of the campaign, which, appearing at a time when British officers rarely pretended to be capable of writing an ordinary despatch, gained him enormous applause; nor is it doing him more than justice to add that he loved fighting for its own sake, and was conspicuous in many fields for personal gallantry. He saw some service in India, was present at the taking of the Cape, went with Beresford to South America, and had borne his part in the Duke of York's campaign in Flanders. He next makes his appearance in the far North, accompanying the

Russians to Eylau, and by-and-by, when the Peninsular War began, he attached himself to Marshal Beresford, and through him obtained permission to raise and command a Portuguese irregular corps, to which he gave the name of the Lusitanian Legion. He did not shine as an independent leader of men. Probably the materials with which he had to work were none of the best. But, however this may be, he contrived, by sending in an inflated report of triumphs achieved which led to nothing, so to dissatisfy the Duke, then Lord Wellington, that he was deprived of his command. After this, when Europe rose against Napoleon, he joined the allied armies in Silesia, and was present at most of the great actions that followed, including the battles of Dresden and Leipsic. Unfortunately for himself, Sir Robert Wilson chose to play the *rôle* of a bitter Whig politician. Early introduced to Fox, Sheridan, Mr., afterwards Lord Grey, Erskine, Fitzpatrick, Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Moira, and Tom Paine, he imbibed all their opinions respecting the tyrannies of George III. and the Liberalism of the Prince of Wales, and out of this there grew in him, as there was in others, an impatience under the administration of Pitt, the Duke of Portland, and Lord Liverpool, which vented itself in terms not always becoming, and made him personally obnoxious to the powers that were. The part which he played in aiding the escape of Colonel Labotaire did him no good; yet

it was characteristic and disinterested. So much can hardly be said of his foolish interference between the Life Guards and the mob on the occasion of the Queen's funeral. His visit to Brandenburg House during the progress of the trial had already given great offence to George IV., and however well-intentioned his remonstrances with the troops might be, it was not a proceeding to which a general officer ought to have lent himself. Let me not, however, be misunderstood. England never had a weaker and therefore a worse Government than in the days of Lord Liverpool. The Queen's trial, as the inquiries into her proceedings when travelling on the Continent came to be called, was an insult to the nation—for though no one will now speak of her as a model of decorum, it ill became her Royal husband to visit her backslidings as he did. But Wilson quite forgot what was due to the Sovereign whose commission he bore, when he put himself ostentatiously in the front rank of the King's personal enemies. He suffered for his folly by having his name struck out of the army list. Deprived of military rank, Wilson got himself elected member for Southwark. He took his seat, as might be expected, on the Opposition benches, and so deep was the sympathy felt for him by the party to which he belonged, that a subscription was set on foot to make up for him the pecuniary damage he had sustained. A considerable sum of money was raised—if I recollect

aright, between £15,000 and £20,000—which he gratefully accepted, and till the death of George IV. posed before the world a well-paid martyr to Liberal principles.

The Duke, though not blind to Wilson's failings, which had their roots in nothing worse than lack of sound sense and morbid self-appreciation, never approved of the severity with which they had been visited. He was no more able to prevent Wilson's dismissal from the army than he had been able to save the life of Marshal Ney; but he seized the first opportunity that presented itself of making amends for the past. On his recommendation Sir Robert was restored to his rank, and became titular Colonel of the 15th Hussars. From that day Wilson became a devoted adherent of the Duke. His change of principles, besides costing him his seat for Southwark, gave great offence to the subscribers to the fund, and a formal request was got up, that, having recovered his place in the army, he should disgorge the price of his martyrdom. But Wilson was not the man to be disturbed by any such ridiculous clamour. He kept his money, and treated with contempt the squibs with which the Radical Press assailed him.

Wilson was a very fine-looking man. His general bearing had about it more perhaps of the camp than of the court, and his conversation was almost always about himself. Covered with foreign orders, he delighted in referring to them,

to the occasions on which they were bestowed, and his intimacy with the sovereigns who conferred them. Besides this he took care that the world should not remain in ignorance of the favour with which he had been received by the beauties of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna. You could not fail to observe likewise, that he regarded himself as irresistible,—for if by chance some handsome woman was spoken of with whom he was not acquainted, he laid himself out in the most undisguised manner to obtain an introduction to her. Another of his peculiarities was this: Wherever he settled himself, if it were only for a week, he put every accessible engine at work to find out what manner of people his neighbours were, how they employed themselves, and to what families they belonged. "I acquired this habit," he used to say, "in the field, and it has stuck to me ever since."

My gallery would indeed be incomplete if there were omitted from it the portraits of persons so well known and justly appreciated half a century ago as Mr. William Holmes and Sir Charles Grant.

Mr. William Holmes, or, as he was more generally called, Billy Holmes, was an Irishman whose father, it is believed, was an agent on one or more of the Beresford estates, and who himself served, when a young man, both in the militia and in the line. Good-looking, active, intelligent, and not overscrupulous, Billy made friends for himself during the rebellion of '98 among the leading Protestant

gentry. He soon exchanged the sword for the agent's desk, and through the influence of either the Beresfords or the Londonderrys, obtained a seat in Parliament. His ready wit, his perpetual good-humour, and the entire absence in his nature of everything approaching to shyness, recommended him for the post of whipper-in to his party, for his services in which capacity he was rewarded by advancement in later years to one of the subordinate places in the Board of Ordnance. But Billy's great talent lay in electioneering. He knew, or was supposed to know, exactly what price the owner of a borough would accept; who was the fittest person to be recommended to him; and when a contest arose either in borough or county, how it ought to be conducted. If you had any relish for stories not always very refined, but undeniably humorous, you might search far and wide without meeting with a more agreeable companion than Billy. To see him at a dinner-table, surrounded by the freemen, say of Sandwich, or passing from house to house on a canvassing tour, was to see him in his glory. The sourest radical could not long hold out against the broad Irish fun with which Holmes assailed him. And if the coveted vote could not be secured, the voter invariably went away less rancorous than when the two men encountered. Billy lost his place in the Ordnance through some mistake about the arrangement of a line of railway that was to connect

London with Chatham. A charge was got up against him, and one of his colleagues, of promoting a job by which the public interests suffered. The allegation was never proved, but Billy and his friend felt themselves bound to allay the storm by resigning their places. What became of him after the Tory party went to pieces I do not know, but both as a political partisan and a fellow of infinite humour in private life he stood unrivalled.

In every respect different from Billy Holmes, though they were somehow usually classed together, was Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., more commonly recognised among his friends and acquaintances as "Chin Grant." Heavy in hand as a companion, incapable of putting half-a-dozen sentences together either on the hustings or in the House of Commons, it seems impossible that Grant could ever have served his party except by steady voting. A West Indian proprietor, he was at one time rich, and spent his money freely in electioneering. But the Reform Act shut the door of the House of Commons against him, and the Slave Emancipation measure subsequently passed reduced him, as it did many others, to comparative indigence. Grant was an accomplished "gourmet." On the establishment of the Carlton Club he became a member of the Committee, and it is due to him to add that under his management the Carlton held its own, even against the skill of the famous artiste at the Reform. Grant himself lived much

at that place of refuge for struggling Tories, and it is ludicrous to observe the adroitness with which he generally contrived to place himself on one side or the other of the Premier *in petto*. Grant's patience under privations and faithful adherence to party were not overlooked when Peel succeeded at last in forming a stable government. He became a commissioner of customs and spent the last years of his life in comparative comfort.

Casual Visitors

The Duke's hospitalities were more promiscuous, so to speak, at Walmer than at Stratfieldsaye. Those whom you met at the latter place were, with very few exceptions, what may be called house visitors, like yourself,—in other words ladies and gentlemen invited to spend a day or two with their host, and, at the close of the appointed time, disappearing. At Walmer his invitations were extended to the captains of Deal and Dover Castles, to the officers of the garrisons of both places, and to admirals and post-captains, most of them retired, who resided in the neighbourhood, and to one or two gentlemen with whom accident brought him acquainted. He never, as far as I know, dined out of his own house during the twelve years of my residence at Ash, except twice—once with myself, when he did me the honour to stand godfather for a boy who died in infancy, and once with Mr.

Morris of Betshanger, whose acquaintance he formed at my table. His reception of these casual visitors was always as cordial as if they had been of the number of his intimates, and intimates, in one sense of the term, some of them became. The late Lord Stanhope was one of these, of whom, however, I will say nothing here, as I have reserved for him a distinct place among the Duke's contemporaries. But of his good old grandfather, Lord Carrington, in those days Captain of Deal Castle, just so much notice may be taken as tends to illustrate one part in the very manifold social character of the great Duke.

Lord Carrington, formerly Mr. Smith, the head of the great banking house of Smith, Payne, & Smith, had been a steady supporter of Mr. Pitt's administration, and was rewarded by this great minister for that and other services by being elevated to the peerage. From Mr. Pitt likewise he received the appointment which he still held, and regularly as the autumn set in he took up his abode in the comfortable marine residence which went with it. He was, and had long been, a widower when I first became acquainted with him. His son —or sons—(for I do not know how many he had), were themselves heads of families; and of his daughters one was married to Earl Stanhope, the other to Lord Grenville Somerset. Lady Stanhope, with her son, Lord Mahon, generally came with the old lord to Deal and kept house for him,

and were frequent and welcome additions to the Duke's dinner parties.

At the time of which I speak Lord Carrington must have been upwards of eighty years of age. The devotion which in his youth he had rendered to Pitt, he transferred in his old age to the Duke. The Duke, when at Walmer, made a point of dressing for dinner in the Cinque Ports uniform, *i.e.* a blue coat with scarlet cuffs and collar, and buttons showing the Cinque Port arms. Lord Carrington adopted the same custom, and went beyond it, for he never called on the Lord Warden of a morning except thus arrayed, and always went to church in what he called his uniform. In every respect, besides, he tried to make the Duke his model, and to an extent which led on one occasion to a ludicrous *dénouement*.

There is a small dockyard at Deal which was in those days superintended by a post-captain. This gentleman, in reality a staunch Conservative, happened to say something one day when calling at Deal Castle, which the noble castellan accepted as if it conveyed a censure on the Duke. The old Lord fired up, made use of strong language, and sent his guest away, not offended, but annoyed that his meaning should have been entirely misunderstood. He wrote a stiff, but not unfriendly, note, pointing out that Lord Carrington had done him an injustice, and sent it to the castle. Now the duel between the Duke and Lord Winchilsea was still fresh in

men's minds; and Lord Carrington appeared to think that a good opportunity had presented itself of proving that he at least took the same view of the single combat that had been expressed in the Duke's memorable letter. He accordingly answered Captain Vincent's note by announcing that he was quite ready to render to him that satisfaction which every gentleman had a right to demand, and no gentleman could refuse to give. This done, he posted off to Walmer Castle, where, the Duke being engaged, he saw Billy Holmes, and unfolded to him his case, with all the circumstances attending it. He could not have put the matter into better hands. Billy, though intensely amused, put on a grave face and discussed the question of seconds. It would hardly do to ask the Duke's co-operation in an affair of the kind. He himself was out of the question, but he would consult the Duke as soon as he could be seen, and communicate to Lord Carrington the result of their conversation. "I was thinking of Hardinge," said the old Lord; "he managed the Duke's affair admirably." "A good thought," replied Holmes, looking as grave as a judge. "But had we not better see what the Duke says to it before communicating with Hardinge?" This was agreed to, and Lord Carrington took his leave.

The Duke roared when Holmes told him the story, and carried on the joke so far that he commissioned Billy to convey a message for him to the

effect that, Captain Vincent being a Conservative, it would appear to the enemy as if there were divisions in the camp, if two such good men and brave as he and Lord Carrington were to fight a duel. The message was duly conveyed to Deal Castle, and the old Lord, fully satisfied that he had acted like a man of spirit, yielded to the reasoning of his political chief, and did not invite Sir Henry Hardinge to go out with him as his second.

Another story connected with this good old Lord may be worth repeating, as illustrative of the keen sense of the ludicrous which was one of the Duke's characteristics.

Lord Carrington was considerably past eighty when a buxom widow, the relict of a deceased archdeacon, cast a spell over him. He proposed and was accepted, and in due time Lady Carrington the second arrived at Deal Castle and took her place at the head of the table. Marriages of this sort are not usually agreeable to the bridegroom's family, and though there is nothing to show that in this instance the ordinary course of events was departed from, there is as little to prove that open war between the old and the new connection was declared. On the contrary, the new wife would seem to have played into her step-daughter's hands more vehemently than was judicious, of which the consequences, though the cause of some mirth to others, were to her very serious.

Lady Stanhope proposed to give a ball—sent

out her invitations far and wide against a certain evening. It happened that two days prior to that for which the ball was fixed, Lord Carrington's brother, who had long been ailing, died—I think in London. What was to be done? There was time, no doubt, to put off the entertainment so far as the invited guests were concerned, but all the other preparations were complete, and for some reason, best known to herself, Lady Stanhope had set her heart on getting this party together. To postpone the gathering under existing circumstances would be tantamount to an entire abandonment of the affair, and to that the noble founder of the feast was decidedly averse. A council of war was in consequence held, in which Lady Carrington took part, and it was agreed that the old Lord should be kept in ignorance of his brother's death till the festivities were over. So far as this ball was concerned all went well. The company assembled. The good old Lord gave them a hearty reception, and Deal Castle rang with the voice of music and flirtation. But the morrow came, and with it a terrible retribution. Lord Carrington was furious at the outrage—for such it was—that had been put upon him; and laying all the blame on his wife, ordered her instantly to quit the house. She refused, as might have been expected, whereupon, recollecting that, as Captain of Deal Castle, he owed some sort of military obedience to the Lord Warden, the old Lord despatched a messenger with

an official packet desiring that it might be put into the Duke's hands without delay. All was done according to orders. We were at dinner when the packet, marked O. H. M. S., was delivered to the Duke; and he, taking for granted that its contents must be important, opened and read it. He made a great effort to retain his gravity but did not succeed, he was obliged to laugh aloud. The despatch requested a reply to two questions:—1st, Whether Deal Castle was or was not a fortress; and 2nd, Whether he, as Governor, had, or had not, a right to expel by force, if necessary, any person whose presence within the walls he might consider undesirable. There had been rumours afloat of domestic differences in that quarter, and the Duke, guessing to what end the query pointed, so framed his answer as to meet the case.

"Certainly Deal Castle was a fortress; it rested with the Captain, as Governor, to admit or refuse admittance to whom he would. In the event also of a siege, or the apprehension of a siege, he had a perfect right to expel any inmate whose fidelity he distrusted; but he (the Duke) would not advise too rigid an exercise of these powers unless upon trustworthy evidence that the safety of the place might otherwise be compromised." The official reply to the official despatch had the desired effect. The lady was not summarily dismissed, but she withdrew from the castle a day or two afterwards, and never entered it again.

BOOK III

THE DUKE IN HIS DOMESTIC RELATIONS

CHAPTER I

THE DUKE IN HIS DOMESTIC RELATIONS

THE Duke was not very happy at any period of his life in his domestic relations. Of his father he saw little, for Lord Mornington died while his children were young, and with his mother he was never a favourite. The financial condition of the family was moreover straitened, and their home in consequence by no means attractive to its younger members. Even among the brothers there seems to have been no very warm love one for the other. In after life, no doubt, they drew more closely together, impelled thereto rather by pride of race, perhaps, than by natural affection. But in boyhood little intercourse took place among them, none indeed of which any record has been preserved. How far these circumstances may have created or fostered that dreaminess of temperament for which the Duke was remarkable at Eton, it is not worth while to inquire. Enough it is to know that, being coldly looked upon at home and treated as a dull boy, the Duke learnt to think himself dull, and shunning rather than seeking the companionship of

his schoolfellows, formed no early friendships with any of them.

It cannot be said that marriage, which, for most men, proves a turning point in life, had any effect in changing the Duke's habits either of thought or action. Not that he was deficient in any of those qualities of heart and mind which fit a man to become a loving husband and father. On the contrary, there never lived a public man in whom the yearning for sympathy was stronger, and who, had he found it beside his own fireside, would have cared less to seek it elsewhere. But he did not find it there, and the consequence was a long life of brilliant success and well earned honour, of which he was heard over and over again to say that it was not worth living for.

Many causes have been assigned for this. The true one was, I believe, as follows :—

The Duke, when a very young man, fell in love with Lady Catharine Pakenham, one of the daughters of the Earl of Longford. He was at that time a Captain of Cavalry and aide-de-camp to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with little besides his pay on which to subsist, and without any immediate prospect of bettering his condition. The lady's father, regarding the match as undesirable, refused his consent, and the young people separated without any direct pledge of constancy from either side, but with the tacit understanding that both would wait for better times. It was probably in

the hope of realising this vision that the Duke, on his return from the war in the Low Countries, besought his brother to apply, in his behalf, for a commissionership of Customs. Fortunately for Europe, the application, if made, proved unsuccessful, and, as Colonel Wellesley, the Duke followed his regiment, with which, in due course, he landed in India.

How the Duke spent the interval between 1797 and 1806, I have told at length elsewhere. Whether any written communication had or had not passed between the lovers all this while is uncertain. The probabilities are that they had not; because Lord Longford could not, under the circumstances, sanction such a proceeding, and the Duke's sense of honour was too keen to permit his embarking on a clandestine correspondence with any one. Hence we bring no serious charge against either party if we assume that an absence so protracted may have produced its not uncommon effect, in so far at least as to render one or both indifferent as to whether the dream of other days was to be dreamt over again or not. Be this as it may, the wooer of ten years ago presented himself in an entirely new aspect when he appeared in Dublin as the hero of Assaye and Secretary of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. When, therefore, he renewed the offer of his hand the offer was accepted, both by father and daughter, and in a short time the marriage took place, much, as it appeared, to the satisfaction of all concerned.

There was, however, one party to that transaction whom a discovery, made too late, deeply wounded. Lady Catharine, it came out, had, before the Duke's arrival, been engaged to another suitor and had broken the engagement in order to become Lady Wellesley. There was nothing really wrong in this second engagement looked at as a thing apart, nor in the lady's extricating herself from it, if only she had adopted the proper means of doing so. These were obvious enough. When the Duke proposed a second time, she ought to have told him how she was circumstanced, not concealing her preference for her old lover if she retained it, but leaving him to decide whether or no the fresh engagement should be held binding. This, unfortunately, she failed to do, and the Duke, to whom the story was told in a spirit by no means friendly to the poor lady, received the impression that he had been grossly deceived, and never afterwards got rid of it.

The Duke was not one who readily forgave injuries, particularly if there were involved in them a deviation from truth. There was, however, much chivalry in his nature, and this first slip might have been got over, had the lady shown herself more capable than she subsequently did of entering into his views of things and sharing his anxieties. It was a great misfortune for both that she utterly failed in this respect. Very amiable, very religious, entertaining for her husband unbounded admira-

tion, she could not bring herself to take the slightest interest in the subjects which mainly engrossed his attention. Even in the smallest matters their tastes seldom agreed, and she had a habit of admiring him in public which was as little agreeable to him as Mrs. Disraeli's open worship of her husband sometimes appeared to be to the late Prime Minister. Not that the Duke had any objection more than other great men to receive the homage of all who approached him, and especially of women; but such homage pleased in proportion as it was delicately administered. It became intolerable when administered wholesale, whether by a stranger or a member of his own family. But worst of all in his eyes was her excessive timidity, hurrying her occasionally into deceit. One instance may suffice to illustrate what I mean.

When the Duke took the command of the army in Portugal, he made arrangements for the comfortable maintenance of his family during an absence from home which he anticipated would be protracted. He took a house for them in Hamilton Place and settled on the Duchess such an income as he believed to be more than sufficient to meet all their wants. At the same time he received from her an assurance that she would never incur debts (of debts he had always a horror) and that in the event of her finding the allowance inadequate, she would let him know in order that an addition might be made to it.

Wives who stand in awe of their husbands, as is sometimes the case when there is little sympathy between them, are prone to hide from them what had better be disclosed. The Duchess failed to make the two ends of her annuity meet, and failed also to state the fact to the Duke. The consequence was an accumulation of debt, of which the Duke knew nothing till after his return at the close of the war. Had the relation in which they personally stood to one another been different from what it was, even this breach of confidence, though a serious one, might have been condoned; but the payment of a large sum to tradesmen on which he had not counted gave additional bitterness to the reflection that she whom he had chosen to be the companion of his life was a failure. Now the Duke, like most men on whom the calls of public duty, or the necessity of providing by hard work for the needs of those dependent on them, keep the mind much upon the stretch, yearned for what he could not find at home; and yielding to a natural impulse sought it abroad. There was scarcely a gifted woman in England whom an instinctive knowledge of how the land lay elsewhere, did not impel to offer to him that of which he stood in need, and one at least, as has elsewhere been shown, attained the desired end, and kept it till the day of her death. But however innocent in themselves such intimacies may be, they almost necessarily come between a man and his domesticity,

and for this very reason fulfil their purpose imperfectly. They may refresh from time to time the spirit wearied and ill at ease, but they alienate the man himself more and more from those whose natural claims on his affection ought to be the strongest. Again let me guard myself against being misunderstood. The vulgar belief concerning the Duke is that he was a profligate among women. Never was vulgar belief more unfounded. His physical temperament was cold rather than severe. He may have erred in youth, as others have done, when exposed to strong temptation. But his lady friends were to him friends only—at all events during the latter part of his life, as well as previously to the death of the Duchess, and after that event left him free to contract a second marriage had he been so disposed.

The inevitable effect of the Duke's dislike to the society of the Duchess was to make him, if not an unkind, at all events an undemonstrative father. Though fond of his sons in his own way, he never, as far as I know, played with them in their childhood or made them his companions after they grew up. He was indeed most anxious that they should not suffer, as he often said that he himself had done, from an imperfect education, but he made no attempt himself to enlarge their minds, and the gentleman to whose care as private tutor he entrusted them seems to have failed in working on their affections, and through them acting at once

on their intellectual and moral nature. Nobody who knew the late Vicar of Brighton will challenge either his scholarship or his high character, but a man may be both a scholar and the best of men, yet lack some of the qualities which are needed in a private tutor. In this case the error seems to have been an exaggerated notion of discipline, of which the effect was to make his pupils cordially detest him.

The Duke was often consulted by parents and guardians as to the sort of training which boys ought to go through in order to fit them for the army. His answer was in every case the same. "Give your son the best education England can afford. Send him to a public school or to one of the universities. In this country an officer must be something more than a fighting machine, and should therefore acquire such knowledge and habits of thought as shall qualify him to fill, with credit to himself and benefit to the public, such a post as governor of a colony and to act, if called upon to do so, as a magistrate." And on the advice he gave to others, he himself acted. His sons went to Eton, their tutor being still retained to aid them in their studies, and that they did not fail to make good use of their time I have shown elsewhere. They proceeded next to Oxford, where they were entered at Christ Church; the eldest as a nobleman, the youngest as a gentleman commoner; and at the same time half-pay commissions were purchased

for both—a mode of connecting youths with the military service, not then uncommon, but long since abolished.

It is well known that after a while the Duke withdrew his sons from Oxford and sent them to complete their educational course at Cambridge. The reasons which induced him to take this step have never been fairly stated, and censure has accordingly been meted out in a wrong direction. These are the details of the case.

Lord Douro on a certain occasion had a wine party in his rooms, including Lord Charles and others of his friends. No doubt the young men, as in those days was customary, drank a little more than was good for them; and under the influence of wine, a suggestion was made that it would be a fine thing to go out into the town in defiance of college rules and closed gates. No ulterior object was contemplated. What was proposed to be done was to be done as a lark; for they who undertook the perilous enterprise were pledged to return and explain how it had been achieved. Lord Douro himself did not join the forlorn hope, though whether he entered any protest against the proceeding is uncertain. His brother, Lord Charles, did. The little band ran downstairs—made for the lodge, and called aloud upon the porter. To open the wicket and let themselves out was the work of a moment. To and fro they paced for a few minutes in the street, rejoicing in the success

of their manœuvres. They had, however, committed a great mistake in neglecting to take the key of the wicket with them. They suffered for it. The porter, who recognised their voices, had no difficulty in getting through the window and immediately turned the key in the lock. For them there was no return except at his pleasure. And he did not fail on admitting them to charge them with what they had done. At which they only laughed. It proved, however, to be no laughing matter. The outrage, for so it was termed, being reported to the Dean, he sent next morning to the delinquents, and having ascertained from them where they had spent the evening, he proceeded, in a way peculiar to himself, to vindicate the outraged honour of the College. Lord Charles and his associates had impositions set them. Lord Douro, because it was taken for granted that the escapade, if not suggested by him, had been planned at his table, was rusticated for what remained of the current term. The Duke, as was natural, was both surprised and indignant at the proceeding. He wrote to the Dean a well-considered letter, pointing out that Lord Douro had been guilty of no offence whatever, and begging the Dean to reconsider his judgment, so far as to cancel the sentence of rustication upon an innocent man. He received in due course an answer as unbecoming as it was illogical. "The Dean begged to assure His Grace that though he might be master of the art of commanding armies, he was no judge of how

discipline must be maintained in a college." Such was the nature of the provocation which led the Duke to transfer his sons from Oxford to Cambridge. Having completed there a short academical course, they were placed upon full pay, first as cornets in the Blues, and by-and-by as lieutenants, one in the 60th, the other in the Rifle Brigade. Lord Douro subsequently exchanged into the Rifle Brigade and Lord Charles into the 15th Foot. When the former retired from the service he had attained the rank of lieutenant-general. The latter, after commanding a battalion some years, became a major-general and died, leaving a widow and two sons and three daughters.

CHAPTER II

SOME OF THE DUKE'S SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS

If ever it could be said of a man, distinguished among his fellows, that he educated himself, the aphorism holds good in the case of the Duke of Wellington. We have seen that as a boy he was held to be the dunce of the family, and we know that at Eton he made no figure. As he never spoke of Angers, it is fair to conclude that the one accomplishment he mastered there was the acquisition of the French language. His early association with the leaders of men doubtless stimulated into action faculties which, had his lot been cast in a different mould, might have remained dormant to the end. But the channels into which they were directed carried them, so to speak, from common things, leaving him master in the art of controlling courts and armies, and in minor matters of daily life ignorant as a child. Though spending much of his time in the country, he never learned the very rudiments of farming. Arbuthnot used to tell a story illustrative of this fact which seems almost too absurd to be credible.

Riding through a field of turnips one day, the Duke asked him how the vegetables propagated, whether by seed, or by cuttings, like the potato. His acquaintance with the literature of his own country was very limited. Though he read several foreign languages, and wrote two of them with tolerable accuracy, he had no acquaintance whatever with the writings of the master spirits in any of them. As life had been to him a drama in which living men played their part, so in his retirement, history, which tells how bygone generations schemed and acted, monopolised his attention. For poetry he had no taste, and not much for prose writing of fiction. As to physical science, that, in all its branches, was a sealed book to him. On the other hand, he was devoted to music, and at one time played the violin with considerable execution, but even in music his taste was antiquated. A generous patron of the classical concerts, he cared very little for any compositions more recent than those of Mozart, and preferred pieces by Handel and even by Corelli to the best modern composers could produce.

I have spoken of the Duke as being in the little matters of private life as ignorant as a child. One exception must be made to this rule; it is a housekeeping one. The man whose solvency depends upon keeping a steady eye on his household expenses could not be more careful or better acquainted with the details of his ménage than the Duke. Having

once suffered from the roguery of an upper servant, he never again entrusted the payment of his bills to any hand except his own, and kept his cellar low, as has elsewhere been stated, in order that his wine account, like his accounts with butcher, baker, and coal merchant, should always be of short standing.

Though the Duke rose early, you never saw him on ordinary occasions till breakfast was served at ten o'clock. A great economist of time, he made short work of this meal, and returned immediately to his own room, which both at Stratfieldsaye and Walmer Castle served the double purpose of sleeping chamber and study. Of the narrow camp bed on which he slept at Walmer and the sofa which at Stratfieldsaye did duty as a couch I have elsewhere spoken, as well as of the volumes which stood nearest to him in the shelves. Here I may venture to add, that one of them, his Book of Common Prayer, has, through the kindness of his son, come into my possession, and that I prize it greatly. At two o'clock luncheon might or might not, according to the amount of business to be transacted, bring him forth again; but it rarely happened, at all events in the country, that he failed in the afternoon to take his exercise, sometimes on horseback, sometimes in an open carriage, and sometimes, if the weather were broken, on foot. After he had ceased to be Prime Minister, and the battle of Reform was fought out, the Duke seldom failed to interrupt this routine order of existence.

In Kent a pack of harriers gave him great amusement. In Hampshire he hunted regularly with both Sir John Cope and the Vine hounds, contributing largely to their maintenance. And here he exhibited the same faculty in losing his way for which he was noted in the Peninsula after making an extensive reconaissance.

The Duke was never more agreeable than when you found yourself alone with him at Walmer Castle. Throughout the early part of the day he left you to your own devices. When the hour for exercise came round he told you what he proposed to do, and invited you to join him. The invitation, as may well be believed, was never declined. Let me describe the details of one such proceeding. It is a clear bracing day in November, with just as much of frost in the air as to make the covering of a cloak in an open carriage agreeable. The roads are in the best order, and the proposal is to visit Ramsgate, a point distant from Walmer about nine miles. The carriage is a two-horsed phaeton, which the Duke drives, taking his seat on the left because of deafness in that ear, thus turning his better ear to you. I have elsewhere mentioned that the Duke's seat on horseback was loose, and that he was somewhat of a careless rider. His driving was of the same order, but in whatever respect it might fall short of excellence, it never failed to carry you along at great speed. As to conversation, that never slackened, and should political economy come

to the front his opinions were the more deserving of attention, that they sometimes surprised you. Take the following as an instance.

The Duke had done more than any minister of modern times to diminish the public expenditure. He had reduced to the lowest level, consistent with modern efficiency, not the army and navy alone, but the staff of our dockyards, of our arsenals, and of all the public establishments in the country. The wisdom of so doing is hesitatingly disputed, and the Duke, admitting the force of some of the arguments in defence of the objection raised, "Yes," he observed, "it is quite true that dockyards and arsenals fully manned give employment to many, whereas when you reduce them to a minimum you may throw whole families upon their parishes, but it is not easy to convince the ratepayer that if they be called upon to pay a little more in the shape of taxes they recoup themselves through the diminished poor-rates." Bear in mind that forty or fifty or sixty years ago the difficulty experienced, especially in rural parishes, was to find work for men willing and able to labour, and that England was still suffering from the loss of her carrying trade by sea and agricultural depression on shore, from the changes that had suddenly taken place, little more than fifteen years previously, from a state of war to one of peace. Then trade, its conditions and prospects, are discussed, and the futility dwelt upon of imagining that England

could hope to continue for ever the workshop of the world. Just as we are entering Ramsgate, and while the possibility, under consideration, of forcing markets abroad by a reduction in the price of manufactured goods at home, the Duke suddenly discovers that he has come out without a pocket-handkerchief. We accordingly stop at the first draper's shop that comes in our way, when the Duke gets down, and presently comes out again with a cotton handkerchief in his hand. It is white, with red spots, and, unfolding it, he says, "Now, here is an article which one would think might find a market anywhere. I paid only a shilling for it."

You return home before dark, repair for an hour or more to your respective chambers, and meet again at seven for dinner. It is a very simple meal, consisting of soup, fresh herrings, an entremet, a small leg of Welsh mutton, a roast pheasant, and a pudding. The Duke has an excellent appetite, and eats fast. He still drinks his wine, though moderately, and after wine and coffee you repair to the drawing-room, where an arm-chair is set on each side of the fireplace, with a little table and candle near it. One of these chairs the Duke occupies, you sit down on the other, and each takes his book or his newspaper, as the case may be. From time to time one or the other looks up and makes a remark. If it be germane to any matter previously discussed, or prove in other

way interesting to the *vis-à-vis*, down go both books, and for just as long as is necessary, agreeable conversation takes the place of reading, and so the evening passes till about eleven o'clock, when the Duke rises and quits the room, observing as he passes, flat candlestick in hand, "Don't forget when you go to bed to ring the bell."

Having furnished his house to his own mind, the Duke did not consider himself called upon to go to extra expense in order to put up a gorgeously equipped chamber for guests, however exalted in rank. The Queen and Prince Albert were received at Stratfieldsaye with all the respect and devotion which was their due, but the set of apartments allotted to them underwent no change from their ordinary condition. If, on the other hand, he himself observed, or the circumstance was pointed out to him, that something was wanting, the presence of which might contribute to the comfort of a coming visitor, he did his best to supply it. Miss Pellew, for instance, and her father, Lord Exmouth, were expected on one occasion at Walmer. Miss Pellew was a great musician and excelled as a pianist. There was no piano in Walmer Castle, and the music shops at Deal being overhauled and found not to contain a first-rate instrument, the Duke ordered one to be sent from London.

With all this urbanity and gentleness, when neither irritated nor provoked, the Duke could make himself, when he chose, a very disagreeable

controversialist. Great men can seldom endure contradiction, and are not always tolerant of mistakes, even if involuntary. If these be serious either in themselves or in their consequences, the best thing the defaulter can do is to keep out of the way till the waters of wrath subside. To beard the lion in his den while the fit is on him will only make bad ten times worse.

Major Todd of the Staff Corps was an officer of considerable merit, and famed for his skill as a bridge maker. He was of humble origin, being a son, if I recollect right, of the butler of one of the royal Dukes, through whose influence he obtained a commission. It happened during one of the operations, soon after the army entered France, that a bridge he had thrown over a stream gave way under the pressure of a gun in transition, a heavier piece than he had expected would be advanced by that route. Tidings of the accident reached the Duke while he was at dinner. Having among other guests the Duc d'Angoulême near him, and knowing that the consequence must be considerable delay in executing the plan he had formed, he was furious. Unfortunately for himself, Todd arrived just at this moment to explain and make his report. He was listened to in silence, and then in no measured language informed that his excuses were worthless and himself a bungler. Quite unprepared for such a reception, the major stood riveted to the spot where he stood, close to

the Duke's chair; whereupon, hurried away by temper, the Duke turned round and said, "Are you going to take up your father's trade?" Poor Todd hurried out of the room. There was an action next day of which a portion consisted in a smart skirmish between the French light troops and our army in some vineyards. The officer commanding in that quarter chanced to have been present at the Duke's dinner the previous evening, and seeing Todd approach on horseback, rode up and tried to enter into conversation with him. Todd took little or no notice, but trotted on in spite of the remonstrances of his companion.

"You have no business there, you can do no good, they can hardly miss you if you place yourself in an alley like that." "I don't want them to," was the answer, and almost immediately the poor fellow dropped dead, riddled with musket balls.

Another instance of the Duke's over-severe censure of a proceeding, less excusable doubtless than Todd's, though under the circumstances scarcely unnatural, may be given.

Colonel Gurwood, as all the world knows, was taken up by the Duke in consequence of his gallantry at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, where he was fortunate enough to receive the Governor's sword, after himself making him prisoner. He subsequently published, first the Duke's general orders when commander of the forces in the Peninsula and the south of France, and later a

selection from his dispatches. Brought thus for many years into daily communication with the Duke, we can hardly blame him for making a record of the great man's conversations, doubtless with a view to becoming at some future time a Boswell to that gigantic Johnson.

That in such a work he would have done justice to the hero of his tale may partly be questioned, for Gurwood though brave, and not wanting in intelligence, was very vain, and certainly did not possess mind enough to read the Duke's character aright. Still the compilation of these manuscripts was to him a labour of love, and carefully he arranged and laid them by as they accumulated. Had he kept his own counsel, matters might have taken the course he desired them to take, but he lacked discretion enough for that, and unfortunately for himself made a confidant of one whom I shall not name, because he behaved abominably.

If there was one thing more than another which the Duke abhorred, it was that what he held to be the sanctity of private intercourse should be violated. Men who were known or suspected of keeping diaries he accordingly shrank from, and he denounced such works as Captain Basil Hall's *Schloss Hainfeld* as base, and their authors as dishonourable. No sooner therefore, was he informed how Gurwood had been occupied, than he sent for him, and requested that the manuscripts should be burnt.

Had his own life been demanded of him or that of his wife, Gurwood would have felt it less than the order to commit these precious papers to the flames. In comparison with the delight he took in correcting and adding to them, everything else which he possessed or hoped for seemed stale and unprofitable. And now to be called upon all at once to destroy them—the prospect was terrible. What, however, could he do? All that he had in life, his advancement in his profession, his office in the Tower, the honour of being recognised as squire to his great chief, he owed to the Duke. There was but one course open to him, and he took it. He made a bonfire of his precious memoranda, and never held up his head again.

For Gurwood was preternaturally sensitive. He may be said to have lived upon the favour shown him by the Duke, and in some sense to have merged his own identity in that of his patron. You could not help seeing this in all his proceedings. Begin with him the discussion of what subject you might, he never failed to bring in the Duke's judgment on the point, and his movements, his expressions, the very cadence of his laugh, were all the closest possible echoes of the Duke's. Other tokens he gave besides of a temperament nervously excitable. I remember his being present on one occasion in the chapel at Chelsea Hospital when one of the psalms for the day, being the 18th of the month of June, led me to speak to the old men of

the Battle of Waterloo, in which many of them had borne a part. Gurwood sat in what was then the major's pew, behind that of the governor, and under the organ gallery, and there, after vainly striving to control himself, he burst into such a passion of weeping, that it was necessary for Sir John Wilson to lead him out of the chapel. Poor fellow! he was precisely the sort of man who could "enter the battle sepulchre at the cannon's mouth" without one twinge of fear, yet for whom the sudden collapse of hopes which he had cherished for years would have the effect of a death-warrant.

Let no man lay to the Duke's charge the deaths of these two men. We may regret that he should have wounded the feelings of either, and perhaps censure him for lack of delicacy in reminding one of them of his lowly origin. But it showed excessive weakness on both their parts to treat a passing mortification, however keen, as if it covered them with such a load of shame as rendered life unbearable.

The Rev. Mr. Briscall knew better how to take a slight, though it must have been hard enough to bear, because it was of long continuance.

The Duke often complained of being asked for advice by persons who had little or no right to trouble him, and on subjects which concerned only his correspondents themselves. He was quite justified in doing so, yet I venture to think that these marks of respect for his judgment were not dis-

agreeable to him, and this I know, that nothing offended him more than your first asking his advice and then acting contrary to it. "When you ask my advice," he used to say to those who failed to abide by it, "I expect you to follow it. You have not done so on this occasion, and I must therefore decline to be your counsellor hereafter." He was equally impatient of any disposition to evade or act contrary to whatever directions he might have given. How beggars of all ranks harassed and latterly imposed upon him I have told elsewhere, but the following anecdote seems worth repeating for more than one reason.

There came to him from Edinburgh an earnest entreaty for help, backed up with a pitiful story of suffering on the part of an officer who had sold out, lost his money, and, with a wife and family, was starving. The Duke sent for his son Charles, gave him the letter, and with it a ten-pound note, desiring that it might be forwarded to the proper address. Lord Charles, who had been quartered in Edinburgh not long before, saw reason to suspect an imposture, and instead of sending the money, wrote to a staff-officer on the spot and requested him to inquire into the case. In a few days the answer arrived, bringing incontestable proof that the whole tale was got up by a knot of swindlers, and that no such case of distress existed. Armed with his letter Lord Charles went to his father's room, put it into his father's hands, and with it

the ten-pound note. The Duke read the letter, pocketed the note, and then said in a stern voice, "Charles, when I desire you to do anything I expect you to do it."

A kindred incident, in which Lord Charles again played a part, may be worth describing. The place for the meet of the Vine hounds was so remote from Stratfieldsaye, that the Duke found it necessary on one occasion to send his horses forward overnight, while he and his son joined next morning early, in a carriage. The carriage was a phaeton with German windows, through one of the panes in which the reins were passed, and the Duke was the driver. After a time he began to nod, and Lord Charles, on looking out, saw that, pulling steadily on one rein, his father was directing the horses towards a wide wet ditch which skirted the road. Not desiring to awake the sleeper, and anxious to avoid a catastrophe, he seized the other rein, gave it a jerk, and brought the horses back from the brink of the ditch. But he did awake the sleeper, who exclaimed in an angry voice, "What are you about, Charles?" Lord Charles told him, and received this reply: "I wish you would mind your own business!"

Being on the subject of his dealings with his sons, truth compels me to acknowledge that the eldest, his successor in the title, received but scant justice at his hands. When estrangements occur in families there are invariably faults on both sides,

and Lord Douro, it must be admitted, was not in all respects as attentive as he might have been to meet his father's wishes. Possessing excellent natural abilities, and a large share of acquired information, he never took the place he ought to have taken in public life, but wasted, rather than cultivated, talents which, had he been obliged to work his own way in the world, could not have failed to secure to him both independence and distinction. The Duke, absorbed in public affairs, could not understand his son's indifference to them, and much resented it. He was unable to see that a young man of Lord Douro's temperament is just as likely to be deterred by the contemplation of the exceeding greatness of his father from following in his footsteps as to be enticed into them. The consequence was an alienation on the father's part which did the son no good, but which the son paid back by becoming, in after years, the devoted guardian of his father's fame. I have got, however, upon very delicate ground, and must turn from it.

No one less relished than the Duke, argument, when it threatened to degenerate into disputation. He seldom, therefore, contradicted in society persons who spoke at random, and was rarely tempted into abstract discussion. "Duke," said the late Lord Stanhope to him one day when they stood together over the library fire, having just returned from hunting, "what is your opinion respecting

the influence of circumstances over Bonaparte? Did they make him what he became, or did he bend them to his own purposes?" "My dear Lord Stanhope," replied the Duke, "it would take a volume to answer your question. I must go and take off my muddy boots!" The Duke and his party encountered, on another occasion, Mr. Byng, better known as Poodle Byng, in Dover. Byng began immediately to criticise the strength of the works, and to enlarge on the possible effect of the castle falling into the hands of the enemy while a British garrison held the heights. He had the talk all to himself, for the Duke, though he appeared to listen, never put in a remark. "How came you to let Byng talk such rubbish?" was the question asked during the homeward drive. "Because I never contradict anybody if I can help it, especially when I see he knows nothing at all about the matter in hand."

No event in his life ever surprised the Duke more than his election to the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford. His first impulse was to decline the honour, but a private deputation from heads of houses, and the entreaties of his political friends, overcame his scruples. The Oxford Conservatives reckoned perhaps too much upon both the power and the will of their military Chancellor to protect the University from changes. From the day when the constitution of 1688 was broken in upon in Parliament, change had become inevitable through-

out all the institutions of the country, and the most that the Duke, or any other Chancellor, could effect for Oxford was to make the inevitable changes come as gradually, and therefore as innocuously, as possible. This the Duke accomplished, though he fought the battle at the outset under great disadvantages, arising, in some measure at least, out of his own ignorance of the subjects with which he had to deal. A curious instance of this may be given.

A debate came off in the House of Lords in 1836 or 1837 on some scheme for improving the general course of studies in the Universities. References were of course made to the probable costs of the proposed measure, and to the resources whence they could be met. But so awkwardly was the subject handled that the distinction between the property of the University and the property of the several colleges got confounded together. One of the Duke's friends—not a peer—happened to be behind the throne at the time, and the Duke, seeing him, made his way up to the bar and said: "What do they mean by University property and College property? Are not the Colleges part and parcel of the University?" His friend explained to him what everybody knows now, that our colleges in Oxford and Cambridge are only the enlargement of hostelries or lodging-houses provided by individuals for the accommodation of persons pursuing their studies at the University; that these assumed

their present proportions only by degrees, and that the landed estates and Church livings with which they are endowed came to them through the bounty of private benefactors, and are no more connected with the University than the estates of any of the neighbouring landowners. The Duke took in the information thus communicated to him with marvellous rapidity, and made one of the best, because one of the most lucid, speeches of the evening.

The Duke was heart and soul an aristocrat, and never pretended to be anything else. He earnestly desired that the people should be well and wisely governed, but he scouted the idea that wise and just rulers were to be found among the uneducated classes. According to his own view of the case—and have not time and events confirmed it?—the lower you bring the franchise in a constitutional monarchy the nearer you come to democracy—of all the forms of government under which to live the most detestable. It was to the influence of an aristocracy, patriotic, moderate, and just, that England owed her moral superiority over other nations. Secrets were never betrayed in our public offices or in our embassies. Why? Because public offices and embassies were officered by gentlemen who, unlike the officials of other states, were proof against bribes. The English army was the best in the world, not because Englishmen are braver or more enduring than other races, but

because the officers of the English army are gentlemen. No doubt he carried this sentiment at times a little too far. If a man of noble birth and a commoner ran a race, the former not being superior, perhaps somewhat inferior in point of ability to the latter, he would favour the noble. Lord Cardigan's case is one to the point.

Perhaps no officer in the army ever gave the Duke more trouble as Commander-in-Chief than Lord Cardigan. He was continually doing harsh and ungracious things, and at last got into a difficulty which made it necessary to place him on the half-pay list. A commoner so circumstanced would have probably spent the remainder of his days in retirement. It was not so with Lord Cardigan. After a brief interval of seclusion he was brought forward again, placed in command of the 11th Hussars, and kept there in spite of frequent complaints, and at least one duel, followed by a trial, till he attained the rank of general officer. For his employment on the staff of the army in the Crimea the Duke was not responsible. That blunder, for a blunder it proved to be when taken in connection with Lord Lucan's position, was the work of the Duke's successor at the Horse Guards.

On the other hand the Duke would do nothing out of the way for his own relatives. His sons purchased all their commissions, and if they attained field-rank somewhat early it was because

of the facility of purchasing unattached commissions which, being open to them as to all the world, was embraced regardless of expense. So likewise his nephew, afterwards Dean of Windsor, owed nothing more to the Duke than the Rectory of Stratfield-saye, a natural appointment, inasmuch as the church and the rectory stand both within the park. It is understood, indeed, that he did make an effort to get his brother, the Canon of Durham, raised to the episcopal bench, but the effort seems not to have been a very strenuous one, and it failed, as perhaps the Duke himself, looking to all the circumstances, might have wished it to do.

There can be no doubt that the feeling of the army towards the Duke, as well in the Peninsula as at home, was one rather of respect and confidence than of personal devotion. This is not to be wondered at. Strictly just, according to his own views of justice, the Duke took no pains whatever to conciliate the love or stir the enthusiasm of his followers. In the hour of danger his presence was worth the arrival of a strong reinforcement, and his cheery word and lively manners acted like a charm on the men however hardly pressed. His little speech to the 85th regiment, on the 12th December 1813, made them a match for twice their numbers of the enemy; and to everything which bore upon the substantial well-being of the troops—their clothing, provisions, supplies of blankets, and the care of the sick and wounded—

he paid unremitting attention. Yet he never, as far as I know, visited the hospitals in person, and his general orders were almost always the reverse of complimentary. Even his published dispatches after a battle went little further than to describe in as few words as possible how it had been fought and won, and to express in general terms his satisfaction with the conduct of officers commanding divisions, brigades, and regiments. Now it is a mistake to suppose that the British soldier puts no store on words which appeal to his chivalry and recognise the many good qualities which belong to him. Such rhapsodies as Napoleon was in the habit of addressing to his army would excite only ridicule in the ranks of a British regiment. But British regiments love to be told that on their valour and endurance the country can safely rely, and the leader who omits to season his habitual rebukes with well-timed compliments to this effect commits a grave mistake. This was the mistake which the Duke committed; and though no evil effects came out of it so far as the conduct of the men was concerned, it left upon the minds of the general bulk of the army an impression perhaps unfavourable, and in a degree unjust towards its illustrious commander. Talk to a veteran of the old war about Lord Hill or General Craufurd, and you heard as much of his kindness as of his gallantry. Speak to him of Wellington and he readily expressed his confidence in the man as a leader, but

of personal love towards him not a word would be said.

It is not difficult to account for this circumstance. The Duke himself had little enthusiasm in his composition. He had the strongest possible sense of duty, and would do or suffer all that human nature can suffer or do at the call of duty; but not a particle of romance was mixed up with this principle, and it never therefore entered into his imagination to conceive that anything beyond the coldest directions how certain duties were to be performed could be necessary for others. Another peculiarity of his character deserves notice in connection with this subject. A temper naturally hasty became, through long exercise of absolute power, intolerant of the slightest provocation, and every breach of discipline, no matter how limited its range, made him furious with the whole army. Hence frequent general orders, as violent as they were essentially unjust, wherein, because of the misdeeds of a few, all who served under him were denounced—the officers as ignorant of their duty, the men as little better than a rabble. And yet the same man, who thus addressed his army while leading it from one victory to another, stated in his evidence before a parliamentary committee, that it was the most perfect machine ever put together, and that with it he could go anywhere and do anything.

This temper, which grew upon him in the field, he carried into private life. Frank and even genial

in general society as he appeared to be, he had few intimacies, and in order to retain your place in his confidence, it was necessary not on any occasion to contradict or oppose him too openly; and, likewise, if you asked his advice on any matter (and in reality he liked to be consulted, though often complaining of the extent to which the practice was carried) he expected you to follow it implicitly. If you did not, you were soon made to feel that you had fallen in his estimation. This I know from personal experience, and the experience was long a source of intense grief to me. The Duke, when Prime Minister, abolished the office of Chaplain-General. He and Sir H. Hardinge between them allowed the chaplain department to die out of the army, and in placing me where Dr. Dakins had been, neither of them calculated on my making any effort to undo their work. Both, but especially the Duke, resented the course which I felt it my duty to take in this direction, and when I proceeded to suggest a reform of the Duke of York's school and the establishment of a system of education in the army itself, I lost his favour altogether. Sir George Brown, my old brother-officer and friend, who was as much opposed to change as the Duke himself, took care that I should know this more distinctly than the Duke himself. After telling me how angry the Duke was, he quoted the Commander-in-Chief as saying: "By Jove! if ever there is a mutiny in the army—and in all probability we

shall have one—you 'll see that these new-fangled schoolmasters will be at the bottom of it."

It would be a great oversight were I, while on this subject, to pass by unnoticed the charge which has been brought against the Duke of neglecting, during his long continuance in office, the best interests of the army. As Prime Minister he reduced the artillery to a state of inefficiency. He allowed the wagon-train to die out, and virtually extinguished the commissariat. His distribution of each battalion of infantry into six companies for foreign service, and four to act as a depôt at home, was in itself excellent. But like every other institution in this country it lay open to abuse, and for lack of close and persistent watching, it was abused. Officers, well connected and otherwise, commanding what was called interest, generally managed, if their regiments were sent to unhealthy or disagreeable stations, to spend most of their time at the depôt. With the members of a regiment serving in India this indeed was impossible, because Indian regiments left but single companies at home to recruit for them. But in his day, we must bear in mind, British regiments garrisoned all the Colonies, of which some, and notably the West Indies, Mauritius, and Ceylon, were very unpopular. Neither did this system, good as in many respects it was, provide for returning battalions at moderate intervals in foreign stations. Once landed in India, the chances were that the bulk of the men com-

posing a battalion would never see England again, and even the transfer from the Mediterranean to the West Indies, and from the West Indies to North America, suffered constant interruptions. The truth is, that the Duke attempted, with a numerically weak army, to do what could not be done effectually except by a very numerous army, and the consequence was that our dependencies were taught to rely for their defence on feeble garrisons, and we were to all intents and purposes helpless at home. It may be said, that not till long after the Duke's death was there any call upon England to assume more of the character of a military nation than she had done from time immemorial. Except in Russia, foreign powers recruited their armies as they had done in years past, and dismissed their conscripts, after they had served their appointed time, into private life. And Prussia was not fifty years ago what she is now, the observed of all observers. The desirability of having available a trained reserve on which to draw at the outbreak of hostilities never therefore occurred to the Duke, much less the wisdom of passing through the ranks as many men as possible within the compass of a limited number of years. On the contrary, he remained till the day of his death an admirer of service for life, and was with difficulty prevailed upon to yield when the proposition of enlisting for twelve years only was brought forward. So likewise his views as to the proper mode of treating

the soldier were, in 1850, just what they had been in 1796. He could not divest himself of the idea that only the scum of the earth would ever think of enlisting, and hence that to keep an army composed of such materials in order, a stern discipline was necessary. The truth is that the Duke, rigidly conservative on all other points, was specially so in regard to the army, and "he is the best friend of the army," he used to say, "who most religiously keeps it out of sight. It is a necessary evil, as most expensive institutions are, and we should be mad were we to make a pet of it, thus promoting one or other of two ends. For either the country will take it into its head that it is a fine thing to have an enormous armed force, in which case taxation will be largely increased and property crippled, or else an outcry will be raised, and some fine morning we may find ourselves without an army at all." It was in this spirit that when the scare came, incident on the Spanish marriages and the coldness between France and England, the Duke asked for no more than the addition of 20,000 men to the regular army and the calling out of 50,000 militia. Alive to the critical nature of the position, he undertook to guard against it with the smallest possible increase to the regular army, supported by a force, which, if somewhat less efficient than troops of the line, would return at once to their ordinary occupations when the threatened danger should pass away.

It was no easy matter to persuade the Duke that

the "Brown Bess" of his own day was not the queen of weapons. He long resisted the substitution of the copper cap for the flint and steel, on the ground that the cap might be forgotten to be given either in bulk or to individuals, and thus, when in the presence of the enemy, the army would be helpless. His objection to the Minie rifle was not less strong, yet in both cases he yielded to conviction, though it was one of his peculiarities that on practical points he never gave up an old belief to mere argument. Make him see the machine at work, and if it worked well, there was an end to his conservatism. Sir George Brown carried him to the marshes below Woolwich, showed him with what accuracy the "Minie" threw its bolt, and he sanctioned the change of weapon, not, however, without a pang of regret.

I have referred elsewhere to the Duke's impatience of contradiction and his impatience under so much as the appearance of making light of such advice as he might give. The temper which on small occasions, and with small people, broke out in hard words, and then died down, stiffened into permanent alienation when called forth by the conduct of higher dignitaries.

The Duke when Ambassador in Paris, and subsequently commanding the army of occupation, never forgave the French Court certain slights which were put upon him. He has been charged by Monsieur Thiers and others with declining

to petition for the life of Ney, which it is alleged would have been spared had he asked it as a personal favour to himself. The fact is that Louis XVIII., apprehensive lest the Duke should make such a request, more than once on pretexts obviously frivolous declined to grant him an audience.

The Duke, a proud man, deeply resented the slight, so much so, indeed, that when an intimation was given that the King would see him—Ney having been shot—he took no notice of the message. One courtier after another intimated to him that the King was hurt by his persistent absence from Court, and at last a special ambassador called upon him, and entreated that he would forgive and forget what was never meant to wound his feelings either as a man or the representative of the honour of England. The Duke's answer was characteristic: "As commanding my Sovereign's troops, I must remain here, and whatever is officially required of me I will do; but I am likewise an English gentleman. The King has insulted me, and unless the insult be atoned for, I will never go near him except on public business." The King's messenger upon this burst into tears, and the Duke did so far relax as to accept a Royal invitation, but he never again affected to be on intimate terms with the Court.

One of the Duke's characteristic peculiarities was a habit of making elaborate memoranda on all the subjects which engrossed his attention

There will be found in his published dispatches from the seat of war a carefully arranged summary at the close of each campaign of the principal events which marked its progress, and of the objects which had, on both sides, been aimed at, attained, and defeated. It was the same with such historical works as interested him, especially if they were on recent operations, whether of war or politics. The character of Napoleon he has analysed in many of his letters, but the estimate which he took of that extraordinary man as a general will best be understood by those who read his papers, which he compiled after a careful study of two of the most important campaigns arising out of the invasion of Russia in 1812, and that which ended in the crowning battle of Waterloo. The latter is, I presume, familiar to every student of the art of war, and may be regarded as a criticism on the Prussian version of the campaign. The former will be found in Appendix to this volume. It was written after he had read Count Ségur's and all the other accounts of the operations which he was studying. A more masterly review of great military enterprise never was penned. It proves to demonstration that the true cause of Napoleon's failure was not the premature coming on of winter, but the false principle on which he carried on war—overtaxing men and animals with forced marches, taking no proper care to establish either magazines or hospitals, and by long halts throwing away the

advantages which these rapid marches were intended to secure.

Another peculiarity of the great man was that, though he spoke out freely, and even constantly, while discussing points that might be raised in conversation, he was very jealous of such records as might be made of his sayings, and embraced the first opportunity that presented itself of setting his real meaning in a just light. Among his friends, none more delighted to get him into discussions of this sort than the late Lord Stanhope. In particular, he often questioned him as to the estimation in which he held Napoleon and the Duke of Marlborough as generals, and, as it appears, tried to get his views enumerated in conversation reduced to writing. The Duke seems to have said that he regarded Napoleon's presence in the field to be worth 40,000 men, a loose expression, manifestly, yet scarcely so regarded by his interlocutor. The following, which I extract from a little volume published in 1863 by the late Lord Stanhope, may be taken as a sample of the Duke's mode of softening down energetic expressions. It draws likewise a very fair comparison between the Duke of Marlborough and himself as leaders of armies:—

"It is true that I have often said that I considered Napoleon's presence in the field to be equal to 40,000 men in the balance. This is a very loose way of talking, but the idea is a very different one

from that of his presence in a battle being equal to a reinforcement of 40,000 men. I will explain my meaning.

"*First*, Napoleon was a grand *homme de guerre*—possibly the greatest that ever appeared at the head of a French army.

"*Second*, He was the Sovereign of the country, as well as the military chief of the army. That country was constituted upon a military basis. All its institutions were framed for a purpose of forming and maintaining armies with a view to conquest. All the offices and rewards of the State were reserved in the first instance exclusively for the army. An officer—even a private soldier of the army—might look to the sovereignty of a kingdom as the reward of his services. It is obvious that the presence of the Sovereign with an army so constituted must greatly excite their exertions.

"*Third*, It was quite certain that all the resources of the French State—civil, political, financial, as well as military—were turned towards the seat of the operations, which Napoleon himself should direct.

"*Fourth*, Every Sovereign in command of an army enjoys advantages against him who exercises only a delegated power, and who acts under orders and responsibilities. But Napoleon enjoyed more advantages than any other Sovereign that ever appeared. His presence, as stated by me more *than once*, *was likely not only to give to the French army, as above detailed*, but to put an end

to all the jealousies of the French marshals and their counteractions of each other, whether founded upon bad principles and passions or their fierce differences of opinion. The French army thus had a unity of action. These four considerations induced me to say that his presence ought to be considered as 40,000 men in the scale; but the idea is obviously very loose, as must be seen by a moment's reflection.

"If the two armies opposed to each other were 40,000 men on each side, his presence could not be equal to a reinforcement of 40,000 men to the French army, or even if there were 60,000 men on each side, or possibly 80,000 men on each side. It is clear, however, that wherever he went he carried with him an obvious advantage. I don't think I ought to be quoted as calling that advantage as equal to a reinforcement of 40,000 men under all possible circumstances.

"I quite agree that the Duke of Marlborough is the greatest man that ever appeared at the head of a British army. He had greater difficulties to contend with in respect of his operations, and the command of his troops in the field, than I had. I had no Dutch deputies to control my movements or intentions, whether to fight or otherwise. But, on the other hand, I had armies to co-operate with me, upon whose operations I could not reckon owing to the defective state of their discipline and their equipments, and their deficiencies of all kinds. I

could not rely on 10,000 of them doing what 500 ought to do. The Duke of Marlborough did not labour under these disadvantages. Then again the Duke of Marlborough carried on his operations in countries fully peopled, according to their extent. He never experienced any inconvenience from the want of supplies of provisions. It was impossible to move at all in the Peninsula without previously concerted arrangements for the supply of the troops with provisions, means of transport, etc. The Duke of Marlborough's difficulties were greater than mine in relation to his own operations—mine were greater than his in every other respect.

"But this is not all. The Duke of Marlborough generally, if not always, commanded an army superior to his enemy in the field. The army commanded by me was always inferior, not only in reference to the description of troops, but even in numbers."

Lord Stanhope, it would appear, in writing to the Duke, had censured the King's Government for failing to support the commander in the field as they ought to have done. The Duke thus deals with the allegation :—

"*But that which I particularly object to* is the last paragraph. *I have always in public, as well as in private, declared my obligation to the Government for* the encouragement and support which they gave me, and the confidence with which they treated me.

"I was not the Government as the Duke of Marlborough was, nor were all the resources of the nation at my command to carry on the war which I was conducting as the resources of Great Britain in the reign of Queen Anne, military, naval, political, and financial, were at the command of the Duke of Marlborough. The nation at that time were heart and hand bent upon carrying on that war. France was not then so powerful as she was from 1808 to 1814. England was not threatened with invasion. It was not necessary to protect society with an army of 20,000 men of the best troops. The United States had not been formed, and it was not necessary to defend our vital interests on the continent of America against their attacks.

"The resources of the country then, instead of being exclusively devoted to carrying on the war which I conducted, were invariably devoted to other objects.

"Besides all this, there was a formidable opposition to the Government in Parliament which opposed itself particularly to the operations of the war in the Peninsula. It would not be fair to compare the conduct of the Government of the Regency in relation to the war which I conducted with the conduct of the Government in the reign of Queen Anne. I cannot, and never have complained of them; and I should not like to say that I supported the Government more than they supported me.

"It is quite certain that my opinion alone was the cause of the continuance of the war in the Peninsula. My letters show that I encouraged, nay, forced the Government to persevere in it. The successes of the operations of the army supported them in power. But it is not true that they did not in every way in their power, as members and as a Government, support me."

Nothing can be more characteristic of the Duke than both this chivalrous attempt to cover the shortcomings of the Government which he served and the modest preference which as a military commander he gives to Marlborough over himself. I do not however believe that history approves his decision. The Government which he served was the feeblest that had guided the destinies of England since England became a first-rate power. And the difficulties which beset Marlborough, though grave, were far less serious than those which Wellington encountered and overcame. Both were brave men; it would be hard to say which was the bravest.

The discussion of questions such as these calls to mind the Duke's steady refusal to hand over his papers, either to Southey, when engaged on the history of the war in Spain and Portugal, or to W. Mudford, who desired to become the historian of the Waterloo campaign. Napier likewise applied to him, and was, like the others, refused. But while declining to permit information in this way, the

Duke caused Napier to be informed that any question he might wish to put *viva voce* would *viva voce* be answered. The consequence was that Napier hired apartments in the Wellington Arms, a neat little inn which abuts upon one of the entrances to Stratfieldsaye Park, and being invited to dine with the Duke every day so long as the Duke remained in Hampshire, he learnt more in conversations with the great man than he would probably have been able to condense from the most careful study of many boxfuls of papers. Napier attacked me furiously for having stated in *The Hussar* that intelligence of the approach of Junot's army was carried to Sir Arthur Wellesley by Sergeant Landshit of the 23rd Dragoons. Landshit was a German, and the Duke, it would appear, had told Napier that a German officer of dragoons was the bearer of the tidings. One would have thought that the point was scarcely worth disputing about, especially as I wrote down what is stated in *The Hussar* from Landshit's lips. But Napier was intolerant of contradiction, and though shown that the official state of the army at Vienna did not contain the name of a single commissioned German officer, he persisted in his charge, very unbecomingly worded, of false statements on my part. This, however, is a matter of no moment. Napier's great work has taken its place among our great English classics, and though we are bound to believe the Duke when he says he never

read the book, we are at the same time left without ground to question the general accuracy of the historian's narrative.

Reference has been made to the Duke's impatience of interruption when occupied with important business. Get him to make an appointment with you, and whatever might be the inconvenience to which the arrangement put him, he saw you at the time fixed, and discussed patiently whatever questions might arise. But break in upon him without any previous warning, and the chances were ten to one that you found reason to repent it. Once, and only once, this happened to myself. The master of a trading vessel, a native of Deal, was desirous of becoming a Cinque Ports pilot. I made the closest inquiries about him, and found that in every respect he was a deserving object. I do not now recollect whether these inquiries were made by the Duke's desire. My impression is that such was the case. But be this as it may, the Duke accepted him as a candidate, and after passing through the customary examination before the Court of Load Manage he was pronounced qualified and virtually appointed. Some delay occurred, however, in making out his warrant, and the ship of which he still retained the command was getting ready for sea. The poor fellow was naturally disinclined to throw up one situation before being sure of another, and so pressed me to speak to the Duke

upon the subject that I could not well refuse. I knocked at the great man's door, and entered his room as I had often done before. He was writing, and looked up, expecting, no doubt, that I had something of importance to communicate. But when I mentioned the ship captain and his case, the Duke sat bolt upright, looked me full in the face, and said in an angry tone: "Tell him I shall do my own business in my own way." That was all. I withdrew at once, vexed with myself, and, in a less degree perhaps, with the Duke, and the pilot also. It happened that I was at that time the sole guest at Walmer Castle, and when we met at luncheon the Duke's manner appeared to me more than usually kind. "I am going to drive to Ramsgate this afternoon," he said; "will you go with me?" And then followed the conversation which stands recorded elsewhere. I refer to the incident here because it illustrates that trait in the Duke's character which I never saw so strongly marked in any other man. It seemed to be a settled principle with him never to acknowledge that he had done wrong. But sooner or later he made amends for whatever wrong was done by a process which, though indirect, was infinitely more agreeable to the sufferer than any apology could have been. He sent poor Ramsay home from Spain for disobeying orders under circumstances which, with any other general, would have been accepted as excusing the act. He took care, however, to

get Ramsay attached to the army that fought at Waterloo, where he was killed. If a name were omitted from a dispatch which ought to have figured there, neither entreaty nor argument could prevail upon him to write a supplement. But he never failed on some subsequent occasion to do justice, perhaps more than justice, to the merits of the slighted individual. So it was on the present occasion. He expressed no regret whatever for having wounded my feelings, but made amends for the pain I had suffered by the marked kindness of his manner throughout the drive.

The Duke was a very considerate landowner. He put every farm situated on his estate in good order, and in all cases advised and encouraged his tenants to farm highly, and for the extensive outlay necessary to promote these ends he used to account by saying, "I have resources which will die with me; and I must therefore do what I can to improve the property for those who come after me." On the other hand, he had the greatest disinclination to fell timber, even where the growth had become rank and the oaks were deteriorating. This, however, was not the result of pure prejudice. The Act of Parliament, which settles on the Dukes of Wellington for ever the lands which were purchased by public grant, requires that a portion of whatever money may accrue from the felling of timber shall be set aside to provide for the younger branches of the ducal family. The Duke had more

than he considered to be sufficient for his younger son. He therefore left the oaks and elms standing for the benefit of the junior members, should either of his sons have a family.

There was united in the Duke to great frankness of manner, which prompted him to speak out on many occasions when most men of his position would have been cautious, if not reserved, an amount of secretiveness quite peculiar to himself. State secrets he of course knew well how to keep, and confidences reposed in him by others he never betrayed. But the commonest transactions of daily life he often invested with an air of mystery which it was hard to account for. To such an extent was this feeling on more than one occasion indulged that I shall not be angry with my readers if they hesitate to believe what I am going to write. He entertained great respect for land as an investment. He believed that it would rise higher and higher in price, and fancying that much more would be demanded of the Duke of Wellington than from a private person, he instructed his solicitor to purchase an estate in Norfolk in his own name. This was done ; and it was only after the great Duke's death that his son, being in the hands of an honourable man, found himself lord of valuable property which, had the solicitor chosen to play the rogue, might have been held by himself and his heirs during pleasure.

The Duke, as I have elsewhere stated, went very

much, during the London season, into society. No ball or rout was considered perfect unless he was present at it, and to balls and routs he went because —as I have often heard him say—he felt himself bound in this, as in all other of his proceedings, to gratify, as far as he could, the British public. He himself had little taste for them, yet he made himself agreeable to all who approached him, and was not unfrequently crowded upon, especially by ladies. He had his favourite resorts, too, one of which was the house in Stratton Street, whenever Lady, then Miss, Burdett-Coutts, dispensed her generous hospitalities. For among his many admirers none more truly admired him than she, nor had she, in all her extensive acquaintance, one who held her in higher esteem than he.

What follows, in smaller type, is taken from my *Life of Wellington*, changed slightly only.

Of the Duke's habits of patient industry it may well appear superfluous to speak. We have seen how in India, in the Spanish peninsula, and in France, hours which others would have devoted to necessary repose were spent by him in toil. And as if all this had not been sufficient to tax his energies fully, he seems to have made copies of many of his own letters, and to have arranged and docketed them all. This, indeed, was a practice which he appears very early to have begun, as if there had been present with him from the outset a conviction that his name would sooner or later become historical, and that means ought to be at hand of connecting it only with the truths of history. And he never abandoned the habit to the end. Boxes of his papers, chronologically arranged,

stood in their proper order at Apsley House when he died, and stand there still. When re-examined and re-sorted, a process to which the filial piety of his son is now subjecting them, they will account, in a great degree, for the manner in which every day of the Duke's long life was spent.

A volume might be filled with anecdotes illustrative of various traits in the Duke's character; his perfect self-possession in moments of difficulty and danger, his kindly disposition, his wit, and severe wisdom.

Of his self-possession on the field of battle I have given in the course of this narrative several examples. Many more might be added did the occasion require; for no event in war appeared to take him by surprise, no blunder on the part of his subordinates discomposed him. He was equally calm and collected on other occasions less in unison, as might be assumed, with his professional habits. He never went to sea without encountering a storm; he never in the wildest hurricane exhibited the smallest token of alarm. At the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway—an experiment, as was believed, full of peril—he put himself with child-like docility into the hands of the engineers, and kept his seat, as they requested him to do, till the accident to Mr. Huskisson stopped the train. He was the first to reach the wounded man, and to speak words of comfort to him. Indeed he would have put a stop to the pageant, had it not been explained to him that great public inconvenience would have been the consequence. We have seen how he bore himself when threatened with assassination on the King's highway, and mobbed and assaulted in the streets of London; and as he was then, so he invariably appeared amid the bitterest struggles and perplexities of political life.

The Duke's wit was sometimes caustic enough, but

never ill-natured. A gentleman, not remarkable for always saying the right thing at the right moment, happened to dine in his company one day, and during a pause in the conversation, asked abruptly: "Duke, weren't you surprised at Waterloo?" "No," was the answer, delivered with a smile, "but I am now." When Sir De Lacy Evans' operations were going on near St. Sebastian, the question was put, "What will all this produce?" "Probably," replied the Duke, "two volumes in octavo." In 1815 the Commissioners for the provisional government in France announced to him gravely that the empire was at an end. "I knew that a year ago." A Colonial bishop having remonstrated with the Secretary of State because military guards were not turned out and instructed to salute him, the minister sent the letter to the Duke, who returned it with this remark upon the margin: "The only attention which soldiers are to pay to the bishop must be to his sermons." Sometimes the Duke's mots hit harder than he intended them to do. The late Sir William Allan used to tell with great glee, that being sent for to receive the price of his picture of the Battle of Waterloo, he found the Duke counting over whole piles of bank notes. Sir William, anxious to save the Duke's time, ventured to observe that a cheque upon his Grace's banker would serve the purpose quite as well as notes. Whereupon the Duke, not over and above delighted with the interruption, looked up and said, "Do you think I am going to let Coutts' people know what a d—d fool I've been?" A cavalry regiment being suddenly ordered to the Cape, one of the officers, not remarkable for zeal in the performance of his duties, applied for leave to exchange. The memorandum was this: "He must sail or sell."

Of his kindly disposition, the following are manifestations. An old gentleman of the name of Robertson desired one day particularly to see him. He was ad-

mitted to an audience, and stated that he did not expect to live long, but could not die in peace without seeing the Duke, and that he had travelled from Scotland for that single purpose. Touched with the old man's manner, the Duke not only expressed his own gratification, but begged Mr. Robertson to stay and dine with him. "Many thanks," replied the old Scot, "I can't do that. I have seen your Grace, and have now nothing more in this world to wish for," and so withdrew.

He was walking one day in the streets of a manufacturing town, when an operative accosted, and desired permission to shake hands with him. "Certainly," replied the Duke, "I am always happy to shake hands with an honest man."

He never met, in his rides and walks among the lanes near Walmer or Stratsfieldsaye, any poor man who claimed to have served under him without giving him a sovereign. He used to laugh at himself for doing so, and acknowledged that it was ten to one against the object of his bounty deserving it; but nothing would induce him to omit the practice.

But perhaps the most touching testimony to his gentleness is that which Mr. Richard Oastler, the great and honest mob orator, has placed on record. Describing an interview to which the Duke admitted him, and his own embarrassment when he found himself closeted with the hero of the age, Mr. Oastler continues: "On that space" (a space free from papers on the sofa), "at the bidding of the Duke, I sat. His Grace standing before me, said: 'Well, Mr. Oastler, what is it you wish to say to me?' I observed, 'It is very strange that I should sit while the Duke of Wellington stands, and in Apsley House too.' 'Oh,' said his Grace, 'if you think so, and if it will please you better, I'll sit.' So saying, he took a seat on an easy-chair, between the sofa and the fireplace. I was then desired to proceed. Being strangely affected with a

reception so very different from that anticipated, I expressed my surprise, and craved the Duke's indulgence. Placing his right hand on my right shoulder, his Grace said: 'We shall never get on if you are embarrassed. Forget that you are here; fancy yourself talking with one of your neighbours at Fixby, and proceed.'"

It is not worth while to transcribe more of what passed between them; but the result must be given in Mr. Oastler's words. "In a short time I returned to Huddersfield, met thousands of people at an out-door assembly, and told them all that the Duke of Wellington had told me. Oh, how they cheered!"

The Duke's wisdom, like that of other wise men, was shown more in his life than in his conversation; yet certain sayings of his have passed into aphorisms, and will never be forgotten while the English language exists. Here are a few of them:—

"A great country ought never to make little wars."

"Be discreet in all things, and so render it unnecessary to be mysterious about any."

"The history of a battle is just like the history of a ball."

"Animosity among nations ought to cease when hostilities come to an end."

"He is most to blame who breaks the law, no matter what the provocation may be under which he acts."

"One country has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of another. Non-intervention is the law, intervention is only the exception."

The Duke dined one day in Paris with M. Cambacérès, one of the most renowned *gourmets* of France. The host having pressed a *recherché* dish upon the Duke, asked eagerly, when the plate was cleared, how he had liked it. "It was excellent," replied the Duke; "but to tell you the truth, I don't care much what I eat." "Good heavens!"

exclaimed Cambacérès, 'don't care what you eat! Why then did you come here?"

It is a remarkable fact in this great man's history, that though always ready, often too ready, to expose himself in action, he never received a wound which left a scar behind. At Seringapatam, as his Indian correspondence shows, a bullet tore the cloth of his over-alls and grazed his knee. Again at Orthes, a spent ball struck him so sharply as to unhorse him. On this latter occasion he was watching the progress of the battle—General Alava sitting on horseback near him—when a musket-ball struck the Spaniard severely on that part of the person, any injury done to which is the occasion more frequently of mirth than of commiseration. The Duke, as was to be expected, laughed at Alava, but had not long enjoyed his joke, when another ball, after hitting the guard of his own sword, glanced off, and gave him such a blow as caused him to spring from his saddle and fall to the ground. He got up, rubbed the part, laughed again, but rather more faintly, remounted, and went through the action; but for several days afterwards he was unable to ride, and suffered great pain.

It is almost more singular that he who carried on war in so many parts of the world should never have lost a gun to the enemy. "Returning with him one day from the hunting-field," says Lord Ellesmere, "I asked him whether he could form any calculation of the number of guns he had taken in the course of his career." "No," he replied, "not with any accuracy; somewhere about three thousand, I should guess. At Oporto, after the passage of the Douro, I took the entire siege-train of the enemy; at Vittoria and Waterloo I took every gun they had in the field. What, however, is more extraordinary is, I don't think I ever lost a gun in my life. After the battle of Salamanca," he went on to explain, "three of my guns attached to some Portuguese cavalry were captured in a trifling affair near Madrid, but they were recovered

the next day. In the Pyrenees, Lord Hill found himself obliged to throw eight or nine guns over a precipice; but those also were recovered, and never fell into the enemy's hands at all."

Though pretending to no eminence either in scholarship or science, the Duke entertained the greatest respect for both. On two separate occasions he expressed a desire to be elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. At first his meaning appears scarcely to have been understood, but the wish being repeated, the Royal Society at once, and with peculiar satisfaction, received him among its Fellows. He was proposed by the late Marquis of Northampton, and seconded by Sir Robert Harry Inglis; and he seems to have been better pleased with this distinction than with many others conferred upon him by the sovereigns and peoples whom he had served. Again we find him brought into contrast with Napoleon, in a matter where, at first sight, it might appear that there was only parallelism. "I knew what I was about," said the French Emperor, "when I caused myself to be elected member of the Institute. Our soldiers follow me, not because I am brave, but because they believe me to be a man of genius and well read."

The Duke's eye for a country was, as may be imagined, singularly accurate. He could take in at a glance all the features of any landscape through which he rode. And—which was, perhaps, more remarkable—he seemed intuitively to divine the lie of a district beyond the limits to which his gaze extended. This was shown upon one occasion in rather a curious way.

He was going to visit a friend in Rutlandshire, and finding that Mr. Croker had received an invitation to the same house, he offered him a seat in his carriage. The offer was accepted, and the two travellers, after exhausting other topics, began to amuse themselves by guessing at the nature of the country which lay on the farther side

of various ranges of hill and down as they approached them. The Duke's guesses proved on all occasions to be so correct, that Mr. Croker at last demanded the reason. "The reason?" replied the Duke. "Why what have I been doing for the greater part of my life, except that which we are doing now—trying to make out from what I saw the shape of the country which I could not see?"

Strange to say, however, the same man, whose faculties enabled him thus to draw inferences almost always correct in regard to great matters, was remarkable for his blunders in small matters of the same sort. The Duke was noted for losing his way not only when riding back after reconnaissances before the enemy, but when returning home from the hunting-field near Stratfieldsaye.

Of the great tenacity of the Duke's memory notice has been taken elsewhere. It never forsook him to the last. In 1843, when the terror of the Seikh invasion was at its height, he was requested by the Government of the day to draw up a plan for the defence of India. This paper or memorandum he read "with great emphasis" to Lord Ellesmere, who says: "It embraced all three Presidencies, and was full of geographical details. It had been written, as he told me, without reference either to a map or a gazetteer."

It was soon after this, that when called upon to name three officers, one of whom might be selected to go out as Lord Gough's successor in command of the army, he wrote, "Sir Charles Napier, Sir Charles Napier, Sir Charles Napier."

I must bring these anecdotes to an end. Hundreds more, equally characteristic, are doubtless in circulation, every one of which deserves its own place here; but already the limits at my command are passed, the subject remaining still unexhausted. If told in detail, they could scarcely add to the measure of admiration in which, by all who know how to value real greatness, the memory of

the Duke of Wellington is held. He was the grandest, because the truest man, whom modern times have produced. He was the wisest and most loyal subject that ever served and supported the English throne.

The Duke took the greatest interest in Colonel Gurwood's first publication. He was a good deal startled when Gurwood proposed to collect and give to the public his general orders, but having overcome the reluctance to appear in print at all, he soon entered into the spirit of the undertaking, and gave Gurwood all the assistance required. Then followed a proposal to deal in like manner with a selection from his dispatches to which, with less hesitation, he assented, not, however, without stipulating that whatever tended to throw discredit on individuals should be suppressed. How faithfully his directions were attended to, all who perused Gurwood's compilations must be aware. But only those who were on intimate terms with the great man know with what childlike delight he read his own writings over, and how astonished he was at both their multiplicity and clearness.

"I can't think," he would say, as he laid down some documents more striking than others, "I can't think how I ever got time or had wit enough to write that." Had he lived to see the still more voluminous selection, now accessible to the whole world, his modest astonishment would have been increased fourfold.

The Duke, as an official, was a great stickler for

etiquette. He held that in matters affecting the public interest too much courtesy could not be exercised in approaching questions on which differences of opinion had occurred, and in his intercourse with the Court his bearing was almost more than respectful. As Commander-in-Chief he could not tolerate the slightest infringement on standing orders. In particular, he objected to officers ever appearing, except in London, out of uniform, unless absent from their regiments, or engaged in field sports. A story is told of his visiting Dover Castle on one occasion in his capacity of Warden of the Cinque Ports, and sending for the officer in command of the garrison that he might confer with him. The officer commanding happened to be his son, Lord Douro, who, anxious not to keep his father waiting, hurried out of his room in a dressing-gown and slippers. The Duke took no notice of the circumstance at the time, but on the second day after the Duke's visit Lord Douro received an official communication from the Horse Guards, sharply reproving him for having forgotten what was due to the Governor of Dover Castle, and desiring that he should be more careful in future. The Lord Warden had, it appears, reported Lord Douro's misbehaviour, through the Adjutant-General, to the Commander-in-Chief, and hence the censure that followed.

Whether there be any foundation for another anecdote—which describes the Duke as passing

his son in the streets of Dover unnoticed because he was in coloured clothes—I cannot say; but for this I can vouch, that Lord Douro never came from Dover to Walmer Castle except in uniform, and that only in their uniforms were the officers both of that and the garrison of Deal received at the Duke's table.

The Duke was for some years after taking possession of Stratfieldsaye a strict preserver of game. He delighted in offering good sport to his guests. Among them were all the most illustrious members of society, such as the Duke of York, the Cabinet Ministers, Foreign Ambassadors, and so forth; and neither care nor expense was spared to keep his coverts well stocked. All went well for a while, and poaching, if it occurred at all, was on a scale too diminutive to attract attention. At last, however, the coverts were invaded in force, and in the struggle which ensued one of the keepers was killed. From that day the Duke gave orders that the stock of game should be gradually diminished. He left no stone unturned to discover the perpetrator of the outrage, who was arrested, tried, and condemned to death. But, mainly through the Duke's influence, the sentence was commuted to transportation. "I would rather be without a pheasant on my lands," was his remark when speaking of the affair, "than that such scenes should occur again." His lands were never without pheasants enough for real sport, but an end was

put to wholesale slaughter, the result of excessive breeding and perpetual watching.

The Duke had no desire to see what is to be called Liberal Education extended to the working-classes. He was violently hostile to plans for educating the army. His opinion respecting officers was this, that before joining their regiments they should, if possible, pass through a public school and one of the universities, and betake themselves to the study of their profession after entering on its practical duties. He held in contempt staff schools, war schools, and the other technical seminaries in which Continental armies were rich, and held that the best training for the staff was to be in a well commanded regiment, the officers sent to him from which he pronounced to be of infinitely greater use than the others of the senior department of Sandhurst. As no serious attempt was made during his lifetime to initiate a new order of dealing with the upper ranks, he contented himself with speaking in general terms against such change, and yielded with a bad grace to the medical examination of aspirants for commissions and the semblance of an examination of a subaltern's fitness to take charge of a company before he should be promoted. But the proposal to train masters and to open schools for the benefit of non-commissioned officers and men made him furious. He never forgave me for adding this to the grave offence already committed of forcing on

the restoration of the Chaplain department. Of this I received both officially and in private life distressing proofs. The official proof came in this fashion. Before establishing the training school at Chelsea I suggested to the Secretary of War, then Mr. Herbert, that it might help us to arrive at a just estimate of the educational wants of the army were I to visit a few military stations, and getting regiments together, to ascertain what the intellectual condition, or rather the general intelligence, of the men was. The idea was at once taken up and approved. But I had scarcely begun this inquiry—I had visited, in fact, only two stations—when on arriving at a third, in Manchester, I was informed by General Arbuthnot, commanding the district, that he had received orders from the Horse Guards not to assemble the troops for my inspection, nor in any other way to countenance my proceedings. A stop was thus put to a preliminary operation which might or might not have coloured more or less others which followed; but it did not stop or even delay them. The schools were formed; they became popular at once with the men, and came in time to be regarded with favour by the officers. By the Duke they were treated to the last as mischievous innovations, and the not improbable foci of mutiny.

As to the marks of disapproval which met me in private life it would be waste of time to do more than allude to them. Wherever and whenever we

met he seemed to have undergone no change. But for the last four years of his life I never broke bread in any of his houses, nor received from him any such letters as gave a tone to our former correspondence. The loss of the great man's intimacy grieved me more than I am able to express. Yet it did not lessen the veneration in which I held him, nor can I now see a way by which, consistently with my sense of duty, it could have been averted. There is no sadder sight in nature than that of a great mind lapsing into senility. It is melancholy enough to watch the decay in a once vigorous frame; but the advancing feebleness of an intellect which we have known in the full flush of its powers humbles in its effect upon ourselves, even more than it awakens sorrow for the sufferer. It would be absurd to deny that in this respect the Duke obeyed the great law which makes its influence felt throughout humanity. As he stoutly resisted the approaches of physical weakness, so he fought with characteristic tenacity against the mental infirmities incident to old age; yet it must be admitted his success was incomplete. Doubtless to a large extent the failing body bore down the energies of the mind, and though he refused to admit the fact either to himself or to his friends, not a day passed without the occurrence of incidents which brought conviction to the minds of all who witnessed them. He had always been

impatient of help in the performance of the operation, whatever it might be, in which he was engaged. He would not allow his servant to aid him in dressing or undressing. You could scarcely offend him more than by offering to hold his overcoat or button his cloak when he was getting ready to return from a ball or a rout. "Let me alone," was the usual recognition of civility of some evident admirer, who sprang forward to help him out of a difficulty. Indeed, to such an extent was this feeling of independence carried as sometimes to cause results which were as comical as they were ludicrous, and yet even in this respect he could at times put up with what was disagreeable to himself rather than give pain to another.

The Duke, much gratified by his election to a fellowship of the Royal Society, made a point of attending the President's soirees at least once a year. The company, aware of his peculiarities, usually allowed him in departing to put on his own cloak which a servant handed to him. It chanced that a young gentleman, whether a fellow or not I don't know, observed one evening that the cloak had got into a tangle, and sprang forward to put it to rights. He was greeted, as the others had been, with the curt exclamation, "Let me alone," and stepped back mortified and confused. The Duke happened to look up at the moment, and observing the expression of anguish on the youth's countenance, smiled, and exclaimed, "I see what

you want. You want to be able to say you have helped the Duke of Wellington in a strait, and so you shall. Give me the end of the cloak and clasp it for me." This was done. The Duke allowed the youth to have his way, shook hands with him, and left him in a state of high delight.

Regularly as noon came round the Duke got upon his horse and rode to the Horse Guards. He would accept of no help either in mounting or dismounting. The slope of the junction leading to and from his underground stables at Apsley House afforded some vantage ground during the former process, while the latter, though accomplished in the end, was accomplished slowly and with great difficulty. Arrived at the covered passage which separates what was once the Commander-in-Chief's office from that of the Secretary of War, he had nothing for it but to let himself down as well as he could from the saddle. A little crowd always collected to watch this proceeding, and on every face there was an expression of mixed reverence and alarm. Wearily the right leg scrambled, so to speak, over the croup of the saddle. Slowly and painfully it sank towards the ground, and then the whole body came down with a stagger, which was never witnessed except with dismay. Yet nobody presumed to touch or even to approach him. Through the open doorway he passed without taking any notice of those about him, and, mounting the steps, made straight for the little room in which

he transacted military business. But the business transacted there came in the end to be sometimes of the smallest possible importance. Not unfrequently he would fall asleep the moment he sat down in his arm-chair, and Adjutant-General, Quartermaster-General, and Military Secretary were all too full of respect to disturb him. They looked in one after the other, each with his papers in his hand. They withdrew again silently, waiting till his bell should ring, and if it never rang at all, as was not unfrequently the case, they being familiar with his views, and having numerous precedents to guide them, went on with the current business of the day to the entire satisfaction of themselves and of the army. On these occasions the Duke usually slept on till four o'clock, when his horses were brought round, and he departed as he had come, the observed of all observers.

This state of chronic feebleness was, however, to the last often broken in upon by spurts of astonishing vigour. Put him upon his mettle, either by bringing some important question under his notice, or by an appeal to that chivalrous courtesy which never forsook him, and the old spirit revived, and he was himself again. On the 18th June 1852 he gave his usual Waterloo dinner, and appeared to his guests to be as vigorous in body and clear in mind as he had been on previous occasions. The same session he spoke in his place in the House of Lords in favour of Mr. Walpole's Militia Bill. Later

in the season he entertained at Walmer Castle the Grand Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and himself drove them to Dover and saw them on board the Calais packet. Nevertheless the work of decay had well begun both in mind and body. His temper, which he used to hold in marvellous restraint, often got the better of him, and occasionally he told stories, which to say the least amazed his hearers. Speaking one day of Indian jugglers, he pointed to a decanter with a neck more than usually narrow which stood upon the table, and said to the lady who sat next to him at dinner, "I have seen them put a live rat into just such a glass as that." "It must have been a very small rat, Duke." "No, nothing of the sort, it was as big a rat as any you will find in our sewers." "You see," observed Lord Fitzroy Somerset, "what we have sometimes to bear at the Horse Guards."

The last time I dined in company with the Duke was on the 1st of May 1852, when the Baroness, then Miss, Burdett-Coutts entertained him and a large party, including the two sons of King Leopold, in celebration of the official closing of the Great Exhibition. He appeared to be in excellent health, but dropped asleep soon after the ladies withdrew, and was suddenly recalled to consciousness by the Duc de Flandres rising to propose that, this being his birthday, we should drink his health. His mode of receiving the compliment was very characteristic.

He took no notice whatever of the compliments which the Royal Duke showered upon him, but rising, said, "Gentlemen, I am very much obliged to you—don't you think we had better join the ladies?" The Duke's seat on horseback, though upright, was loose. He was, however, a bold rider in his day, and made very light of a fall. His horses, when he bought them, were all good horses, serviceable and enduring rather than beautiful, but he got attached to them, and continued to ride them long after most men in his station would have either sold or turned them out. "Copenhagen," his famous charger, was no beauty, as indeed was shown in the colossal statue which very accurately represents him; but he had served his master well in the Peninsula before he bore him through the great day of Waterloo, and richly deserved the honour paid by the second Duke to his memory.

It is not, I believe, generally known that the Duke had for many years prior to his death been liable to epileptic fits. His first seizure occurred, I think, in 1826, after his return from his special embassy to Russia, whither in 1825 he went to congratulate the son of Alexander the First on his succession to the Imperial throne. He had reached his own door after riding in Hyde Park, when, without the slightest warning, self-control abandoned him, and had not his groom fortunately alighted, and thus been able to receive him in his arms, he must have fallen to the ground. The

COPENHAGEN'S GRAVE.

SITUATED IN A PADDOCK NEAR THE STABLE AT STRATFIELDSAYE, IS MARKED BY A STONE WHICH BEARS THE FOLLOWING INSCRIPTION:

HERE LIES
COPENHAGEN,
THE CHARGER RIDDEN BY
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON
THE ENTIRE DAY AT THE
BATTLE OF WATERLOO.
BORN 1808. DIED 1836.

God's humble instrument, though meaner clay,
Should share the glory of that glorious day.

fit was comparatively slight, and soon passed away, but returned at intervals, and always with increased violence. Lord Stanhope, in a volume printed for private circulation, gives a distressing account of one of these attacks which fell upon him at Walmer, and lasted several hours. It had not apparently the effect of depriving him of consciousness even when at its height, but the weakness attendant and consequent on it lasted two days. It is curious that the Archduke Charles, undeniably one of the best officers among the Duke's contemporaries, should have been subject to the same weakness. Unfortunately for him the approach of the malady was not deferred till after the close of the great war. More than once an epileptic fit overtook him at a critical moment in the operations he was conducting, and marred them. This was especially the case at the time when after the fall of Vienna Napoleon's fate may be said to have hung in the balance. The Archduke was struck down just before the preparations were completed for an attack on the French position which Napoleon was not in a condition successfully to meet.

The Duke died, as is well known, after a very short illness, and in strong convulsions. No special cause of the catastrophe was so much as hinted at when it occurred. Men were content to remember that he had on former occasions suffered from like attacks, and they took it for granted that before an unusually violent access of the malady his failing

strength had succumbed. But further inquiry has since produced a strong suspicion that had his medical attendants been aware of certain of the Duke's peculiarities, and dealt with his case surgically, his life might have been prolonged. It will be remembered that as long ago as 1825 the Duke put himself into the hands of Mr. Stephenson, the well-known aurist, and was by him treated for partial deafness. From the treatment to which he was subjected, and his own neglect of the means prescribed by Mr. Stephenson for averting a not improbable consequence, the Duke never recovered. The drum of his ear was destroyed, and he not only became stone deaf on that side of the head, but unremitting attention became necessary in order to avert further mischief. Among other precautions to which he had recourse was a thorough investigation of the ear every day by a medical attendant, and the careful removal of the wax from the cell whenever it began to coagulate. But old men grow weary of processes which young men hardly endure. The Duke became as years advanced on him more and more lax in attending to the state of his ear. Always most fastidious over his toilet, he forgot that when the drum of the ear is destroyed the mere process of washing and cleansing the exterior of the cell establishes no security against the accumulation of wax internally. The process appears to have gone on for months unnoticed either by himself or any-

body else, till at last the wax pushed inward in the shape of a cone, and, hardened by time, infringed upon the brain. Had a surgeon been informed of this, and taken immediate steps to remove the pressure, the convulsion would have ceased, and the Duke might have recovered. As it was, the remedies adopted served only to aggravate the malady by rendering the paroxysms of sickness more frequent and more severe. The Duke's strength was unequal to sustain a prolonged struggle with convulsive fits, because the cause of the fits was not internal derangement, but direct pressure upon the brain from without.

Note.—My father was urged in his declining years by many friends, amongst them Lord Wolseley, to write his reminiscences of the great Duke, but always pleaded old age for not undertaking the task,—invariably adding, however, that among his papers ample material would be found for an interesting volume on the subject. And yet, such was the vigour of his mind, and so strongly was *writing* second nature to him, that in his ninetieth year, when his family hoped he was quietly resting in his room, he actually undertook the task himself, and compiled the volume which is now before the public, even heading the four books in the manner he wished it "some day" to be published.

At the end of the MS. I found this touching little sentence: "I am not now able to read this all through, but I hope some one will be at hand to correct any little mistakes I may have made."

MARY E. GLEIG.

APPENDIX

MEMORANDUM ON THE WAR IN RUSSIA IN 1812

1825.

Ségur's, work[1] has drawn the public attention to the most extraordinary and stupendous transactions and events of modern times, and of which no times have ever produced a parallel. The details of these transactions and events have consequently been accurately examined by many, and the result has been a conviction that the common sense which guides mankind in the ordinary transactions of life had but little influence either in the origin of, or the preparations for, the Russian war, or the conduct of the operations which are the subject of the work.

It is useless to consider what was the cause of the war between Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia. The ostensible causes of dispute were clearly removed. The diplomatists had agreed upon the principle of the mode of settling them all; and there would have been no difficulty in the application of that principle. But at the very moment at which this principle of settlement was agreed upon, Napoleon moved armies, to the amount of about 600,000 men, into the dominions of the King of Prussia, in consequence of the treaty with Prussia, which Prussia had been induced to solicit; and the Emperor of Russia, seeing clearly that the war was not to be avoided, that the points, the settlement upon which had been agreed upon, were mere pretexts; and that his disgrace in the

[1] *Histoire de Napoléon et de la Grande-Armée pendant l'année* 1812. Par M. le Général Comte de Ségur. Paris, 1824.

eyes of Europe in the first instance, and the ultimate destruction of the power and influence of his government, were the real objects of Napoleon, determined that he would resist upon the question of the Prussian treaty and occupation, which brought fairly before the public the real point at issue, and to the recollection of public men that States have an interest in the transactions of other States with their neighbours, and a right to question those transactions.

It is clear, then, that there was no legitimate French interest involved in this war. There was no point of public honour, at least on the part of France. When the principles of the settlement of the trifling points of dispute were agreed upon, there was no occasion for carrying into execution the treaty with Prussia. To carry that treaty into execution was a menace to Russia which was injurious to its honour; and, if submitted to, was calculated to deteriorate the power and influence of Russia both at home and abroad. There might have existed a necessity for endeavouring to destroy the power of Russia growing out of the transactions between France and other States of Europe, and the apprehensions that those States might look to the assistance and protection of Russia. But the legitimate necessity for war, or for measures which must lead to war, must not depend upon the choice between two different lines of policy. In this case there was an option, viz., for Napoleon to soften his policy towards those States in whose favour or on whose behalf the Russian interference was apprehended. That policy was a system of insult and menace. It was not influence growing out of treaty, but it was menace founded upon the success of former wars, the insolence of exorbitant power in the hands of new men, and the constant apprehension which an innate sense of injustice produces even in such minds, that the oppressed must turn against their oppressors. The maintenance of such policy, which can-

not be publicly stated and avowed, cannot be fairly considered a ground for war.

There was no French interest involved, and no real ground for war then between Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia. The war was occasioned solely by the desire of the former to fight a great battle, to gain a great victory, to occupy with his army one more great capital, and to subject to his rule the power of Russia.

It was in this light that the war was viewed by the French politicians of the day; and it is curious to observe in these works the total absence of principle in the examination of this great question of war or peace. Nobody adverts to the injustice of this intended attack upon the Emperor of Russia. Its difficulty, its danger, its expense, the absence of all prospect of remuneration and relief from financial difficulty by confiscation, plunder, or the levy of contributions, and the little probability that success in this intended war would bring to a conclusion the disastrous war in Spain, were all insinuated or urged with more or less of vehemence according to the character, the station, or the degree of intimacy of the person urging those topics with Napoleon. But nobody ventured to hint the injustice of the war itself; and, in truth, all admitted, some in positive terms, that the time was come at which it was absolutely necessary that Napoleon should bring under his subjection this one independent power remaining on the continent of Europe. It is curious to observe his answers to each of those who ventured to hint objections to his proposed measures, each of which contained what he must have known at the time was a falsehood.

Then in the preparations for this war there was as little of national policy as there was in the war itself. This war was in the contemplation of Napoleon for a considerable period of time previous to its commencement,—it is believed from the period of the refusal to give him the Russian princess in marriage, and from that of the celebration of the mar-

riage with the Austrian princess, in the year 1810. It is certain that Prince Metternich, on his return to Vienna in the spring of 1811, apprised his sovereign of the probability that the marriage which had been celebrated would not have the effect of giving to Europe permanent tranquillity. Yet, notwithstanding that this war had been so long intended, no political measures were adopted to enable Napoleon to carry it on with advantage. Russia has two neighbours, the Porte and Sweden, with which Powers it had always been the policy of France to connect herself; and such connection was not only honourable to France but useful to Europe. It is not useless to examine the conduct of Napoleon in relation to these Powers, as this examination will show how entirely the national policy of France was lost sight of by him when his own personal objects were in question.

The first idea of the Russian marriage occurred at Tilsit. This is the real secret of that treaty. In pursuit of that object Napoleon sacrificed to the Emperor of Russia the interests of the Porte and of Sweden. He lost the opportunity then afforded to him of reconciling the Porte, and of attaching that power to France for ever; and he not only alienated Sweden from France, but absolutely sacrificed that Power to Russia by his consent to the conquest of Finland; and he thus destroyed the balance in the North of Europe by depriving Sweden of all means of annoyance against Russia.

Useful as the existence and strength of both of these powers were to the world at large, and honourable and advantageous as their connection with France was to France at all times, it was more particularly necessary in a war with Russia, waged on Russian ground. Commanding as those powers did the navigation of the Russian seas, situated as they were in 1811 and 1812 in relation to the means of defence of Russia, it might have been expected that Napoleon, upon the eve of the war with

Russia, would have turned his attention to the conciliation of those Powers, and would have endeavoured to procure their assistance.

But having abandoned them both to the will of Russia at the period of the Peace of Tilsit, he appears to have forgotten that they existed till a period long subsequent to the Austrian marriage; at which period it is clear that he began to think of the attack upon Russia. Even then he neglected the Porte, and made but trifling efforts to reconcile that government to France, and to induce them to connect their cause with his.

Towards Sweden the conduct of Napoleon was even worse than that towards the Porte. Even after Bernadotte had been called to the succession of the crown of Sweden, he treated that Power with more ignominy than ever; and the more probably, as it is hinted in Ségur's work, because Bernadotte had been the rival of Bonaparte in the transactions of Paris which preceded the 18th Brumaire, and on account of their subsequent disagreements. He seized upon Swedish Pomerania and the island of Rugen by way of enforcing the continental system against England, and otherwise insulted Sweden at a moment at which the assistance of that Power would have been worth more to France than that of both Austria and Prussia. A sovereign having the honour and interest of his country at heart, instead of those personal to himself, would have forgotten, or at all events have laid aside for the moment, all consideration of those personal causes of offence; but Napoleon could not forget them. He, on the contrary, forgot the interests and ancient policy of France, and gratified his personal resentment against the Crown Prince.

Not so the British government. They treated the Swedish government with the utmost moderation and kindness, notwithstanding that the two nations were at war in consequence of the authoritative mandate of Napoleon given to Sweden. They likewise seized the

earliest opportunity which circumstances afforded of making peace with Russia and with Sweden, and of mediating a cordial union between those two powers. They made the greatest sacrifices on the part of Great Britain to induce the Crown Prince to postpone his pretensions to Norway, and the execution of the engagement of the Emperor of Russia to assist Sweden in making the conquest of that country; and the result of these arrangements was not only to relieve his Imperial Majesty from the necessity of defending himself on the side of Finland, but to place at his disposal for operations against the French troops on the Dwina the corps of Russian troops collected in Finland for the purpose of performing his original engagement to Sweden.

Then in respect to the Porte, the British Government seized the earliest opportunity of exerting their influence, and succeeded in inducing the Porte to make peace with Russia, thus relieving his Imperial Majesty from the contest with the Porte, and from the necessity of defending himself on his south-east frontier.

If the great statesman who at that period conducted the foreign affairs of Great Britain had never rendered to his own country or the world any other service than those above noticed, his name would have gone down to posterity as the man who had first foreseen and had afterwards seized the opportunity of rendering to the world the most important service that ever fell to the lot of any individual to perform. There is no child who reads these histories who will not see that by those arrangements not only was Napoleon deprived of all the assistance which he might have derived from the operations of the Turkish troops, but that the Russian troops opposed to those operations, and those stationed in Finland with a view to Swedish objects, were at the same critical moment of the campaign thrown upon the rear of the French armies in Russia.

Great as the loss in the French armies was by war and famine, and the consequences of those irregularities which are inseparable from such a system as that of Napoleon, and aggravated as all the distresses of the army were by the intense severity of the season, it must be obvious to all that the great destruction of the French army in Russia was to be attributed to the position of the Russian troops upon the Orcha and the Berezina, in November, 1812; the very troops thus brought into action in consequence of the political arrangements above referred to. The movements of these troops might have been more scientifically and vigorously conducted, and their operations even more successful than they were. That is the affair of the generals who commanded them; and the question whether they were well or ill conducted can never affect the reputation of the late Lord Castlereagh, by whose political measures and negotiations the Emperor's government had these troops at their disposition to be employed against the common enemy.[1]

Then another political arrangement, which would have been of the greatest importance to the French army engaged in these operations, related to Poland. The Emperor of Austria had possession of Polish Galicia, and had required from Napoleon an engagement that no measures should be taken to reconstruct the kingdom of Poland without the consent of his Imperial Majesty, and without giving to his Imperial Majesty compensation for the probable loss of his Polish dominions by the retrocession by France to his Imperial Majesty of the Illyrian provinces ceded to France by his Imperial Majesty by the recent Treaty of Vienna. France having lost the assistance for which Napoleon had sought, but sought too late, if really in earnest in his wish to obtain it, viz., that of Sweden and the Porte, there is no doubt that that to

[1] The policy here attributed to Lord Castlereagh was originated by the Marquess Wellesley, who preceded Lord Castlereagh as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—Ed.

which he ought to have looked was the assistance of the Poles. He did derive great assistance from the Poles of the Duchy of Warsaw; and he endeavoured to derive assistance from those of the province of Lithuania, in which he established a government; and he delayed at Wilna for a considerable period of time at the very opening of the campaign, in order to organise and put in motion that government. But the Poles soon discovered the secret, that it was impossible to constitute, as an independent State, Poland or even those provinces of the ancient kingdom of Poland which should be conquered from Russia, on account of the engagements between Napoleon and Austria; and because it was quite certain that Napoleon would not make the sacrifice to Austria of the Illyrian provinces in compensation for Polish Galicia, which Austria would have lost by the reconstruction of Poland. The language of Napoleon therefore was loose and cold in answer to the addresses of the Poles on the subject of their independence; and the efforts of the Lithuanians were directed against him, or, if made in any instance in his favour, were lukewarm and weak.

Invading Russia as Napoleon did with an army of 600,000 men, the military assistance of the Lithuanians, or of the people of any of the Polish provinces under the Russian government, could not have been necessary to his success; but their good will and activity in supplying his armies would have been desirable, for the very reason that, and in proportion as, their military assistance was not necessary. Great difficulty must have existed in feeding and supplying the large armies with which the invasion of Russia was necessarily made; and the active and zealous co-operation and assistance of the Lithuanians was absolutely necessary in order to overcome or lessen the difficulties which must have been expected, and were expected, as it will appear presently, to attend this important branch of the service.

The advantage of their assistance was lost because Napoleon would not sacrifice to Austria the Illyrian provinces, which were useless to France; and much of the mischief which occurred must be attributed to the same fact. Napoleon, then, led the armies of Europe into Russia without any of the assistance the country could afford, whether of a military or of a civil or political nature, which common attention, or the ordinary policy of a statesman, would have placed at his disposal. Yet it appears by these accounts that he was well aware of the difficulties and dangers of the enterprise which he had undertaken, and most particularly of those difficulties respecting provisions which at last destroyed his army. He was to invade a country of great extent, but of small population in proportion to its extent, and that population consisting of slaves, and but very unequally distributed in the differents parts of the country. The country contained but few large towns from which any military resource could be drawn. The soil is in general marshy and overgrown with timber, and the roads and communications very rare, and those which existed difficult at all times, and scarcely practicable for wheel-carriages in wet weather.

Napoleon, aware of the difficulties of subsistence in that country for a large army, formed squadrons, regiments, and brigades of carts loaded with provisions and other necessaries for his army, which followed its movements through Prussia, in which country it was provisioned on its passage, under the treaty of alliance with the King of Prussia. Droves of cattle were moved through Germany from Italy and France. Yet so little did these arrangements answer the purpose intended, that before the army quitted the Duchy of Warsaw we see complaints of the plunder of that country, and remonstrances from Napoleon to his marshals of the evil consequences (compared to those in Portugal) which

must result from the irregularity of the troops, and from the mode in which they took provisions from the enemy.

At Wilna, the first place at which a halt was made within the Russian frontier, and at which a hospital was to be established, we see what the means were which this army of 600,000 men possessed.

This army of 600,000 men could establish hospitals for only 6000 men at Wilna. These were without provisions, beds, covering, or even straw to lie upon, and even unprovided with medicine. Yet it is a curious fact that the Würtemberg army had an excellent hospital at Wilna, because the King of Würtemberg paid the expense of the hospitals for his troops. This fact shows to what circumstances all these difficulties were to be attributed. At Vitepsk, where another hospital was formed, we see by the account that hospitals for only 1400 men could be formed; Russians and French in equal numbers; the Russians having been left for three days without assistance, when they were taken into the French hospitals.

The surgeons were obliged to use their own shirts for dressings, as well as those of the wounded soldiers. It must be observed that these hospitals were for wounded only; the sick shifted for themselves as they could. At Smolensk, on the second night after the establishment of the hospitals in that town, everything was wanting to dress the wounds of the wounded soldiers; and paper found in the archives was made use of instead of lint. Then Ségur says, "Nos chirurgiens accablés, s'étonnent; depuis trois jours un hôpital de cent blessés est oublié. Un hazard vient de le faire découvrir."

After the battle of Borodino 20,000 French wounded were left in the Abbaye of Kolotskoi. Ségur says, "*Les ambulances avaient rejoint, mais tout fut insuffisant*"; that is, nearly three months after the frontier had been passed; and Larrey, the *chirurgien-en-chef*, complains in a publication, that no troops were left with him *pour*

requérir those articles which were necessary from the neighbouring villages. *Pour requérir* is, in plain terms, envoyer *à la maraude*—plunder in order to supply the hospitals!!

The causes of the failure of these measures of precaution are worth discussing, as the discussion will convey to the minds of the readers of this paper the real cause of the disasters of the French army in Russia.

The truth is that Napoleon learnt at Paris and Dresden, and the information was confirmed on his arrival at Königsberg from Dresden, that the Emperor of Russia had collected his army in the neighbourhood of Wilna. He conceived that he should surprise his enemy in that position and defeat him; or that in his retreat he would have it in his power to fall upon and destroy some detached corps. Forced marches were then to be undertaken, even from the Vistula, and were continued till the army reached the Dwina and the Dnieper. The carts, the carriages, the cattle, and all the supplies brought from France and Italy, were left behind; all the difficulties of the enterprise were forgotten, and nothing thought of but the prospect of finding the enemy *en flagrant délit*, and of destroying him at one blow.

It is curious to read the statement in Ségur, which is confirmed by all who have written the history of this war, of the loss sustained by the army in the first marches from the Niemen and the Vilia. Not less than ten thousand horses and many men are stated to have been left dead upon the road, and thousands of stragglers from their regiments were wandering about the country. This loss is attributed to the storm of rain which occurred at that period. But those who know what an army is well know that a storm of rain in the summer, whatever its violence and character, does not destroy the horses of an army. That which does destroy them, that which renders those who survive nearly unfit for service throughout

the campaign, and incapable of bearing the hardship of the winter, is hard work, forced marches, no corn or dry fodder at the period at which the green corn is on the ground, and is invariably eaten by the horses of the army. It is the period of the year at which of all others a commander who cares for his army will avoid enterprises the execution of which requires forced marches or the hard work of the horses.

In like manner, storms of rain do not destroy soldiers of the infantry exposed to them, in a greater degree than other men; but forced marches on roads destroyed by storms of rain, through a country unprovided with shelter and without provisions, do destroy soldiers, as every one left behind is without resource, is exposed, unsheltered and starving, to the effects of the storm; he cannot follow and overtake his corps, and he must perish.

The second chapter of the third book of Ségur's work contains a curious and true specimen of what a French army was, in the account given of Davout's corps; and how formidable to its enemy, if common care had been taken of it:—

"Il a soixante-dix mille hommes dont l'organisation est complète; ils portent pour vingt-cinq jours de vivres. Chaque compagnie renferme des nageurs, des maçons, des boulangers, des tailleurs, des cordonniers, des armuriers, enfin des ouvriers de toute espèce. Elles portent tout avec elles; son armée est comme une colonie: des moulins à bras suivent. Il a prévu tous les besoins; tous les moyens d'y suppléer sont prêts."

Called together by the conscription, each battalion of the French army had in its ranks good and bad, of high, low, and middle classes, men of all trades and professions. The French soldiers scarcely required the usual discipline or punishment inflicted on soldiers to keep them in order. The good, under the superintendence and encouragement of the officers, took care of the bad, and kept them in

order; and they were upon the whole the best, the most orderly and obedient, and the most easily commanded and best regulated body of troops that ever existed in Europe. They were destroyed by their privations. The French Revolution first introduced into the world new systems of war, the objects and results of which were to render war a resource instead of a burthen to the belligerents, and to throw the burthen upon the country which unfortunately became the seat of its operations. The system of terror and the misery of the people in France; and the conscription, the execution of which was facilitated by the first; placed at the disposal of the government of the day the whole of the serviceable male population of the country. All that the government had to do or did with them was to organise them into military bodies, arm them, and have them taught the first movements of the use of their arms and of their military exercises. They were then poured into some foreign country to live upon its resources. Their numbers stifled or overcame all local opposition; and whatever might be the loss or misery which the system itself might occasion in the French armies, the first was of men who when dead could not complain; the success stifled the complaints of their survivors.

Napoleon was educated in this system. He succeeded to the power it gave to the government, and carried its action to the greatest possible extent. The system of his tactics was founded upon forced marches. War, being the principal resource of his government, was to be carried on at the smallest possible expense of money to his treasury, but at the greatest possible expenditure of the lives of men, not only by the fire of the enemy, but by privations, fatigue, and sickness. Till this Russian war he had never thought of supplying his armies with the necessaries requisite to enable such great bodies to keep the field. His object was to surprise his enemy by the

rapidity of his marches, to fight a great battle, levy contributions, make peace, and return to Paris. But these objects were always attained at the expense of the utmost privations to his troops.

These privations, which must have rendered the soldier unfit for service, and must have destroyed him at once if not relieved by breaches of order and discipline, and by plunder and its consequences, occasioned all these evils, till the army, however well composed originally, and however orderly and well disciplined and formidable as a military body to its enemies, became at last a horde of banditti, all equally bad, and destroying itself by its irregularities. Indeed no other army, excepting the French army, could have subsisted in the manner in which the French army did. No other army known in Europe is sufficiently under command.

His mode is really curious, and worthy of observation. The army started with a certain number of days' provisions upon the men's backs, seldom less than seven days, and sometimes provision, that is to say, bread or biscuit, for fourteen days. Cattle were driven with the army to supply the rations of meat. These articles were procured either from magazines, or from some large town, or from some rich, well-populated district in which the troops might have been cantoned. The cavalry could not be loaded with provender for the horses for more than three or four days.

Thus provided, the army started upon its expedition by forced marches. In very few days it was generally discovered that the soldiers, unable to carry their loads upon these forced marches, had either consumed in two or three days that which ought to have lasted seven or ten days, or had thrown it away; or the General commanding, being apprehensive that the provisions which his troops had in possession would not be sufficient to last till he should be able to have another regular issue, com-

menced to procure supplies by what was called *la maraude*; that is to say, neither more nor less than plunder.

Authority was then given to send out a certain number of soldiers of each company to obtain provisions at each village or farm-house in the neighbourhood of the road by which the army marched, or of the ground on which it encamped. These soldiers were to force the inhabitants to deliver these provisions without payment or receipt; and it may well be believed that these acts of violence were not confined to forcing the delivery of provisions. Other articles of value were taken at the same time, and by the use of the same coercive measures; and it is not astonishing that officers and soldiers so employed should become habitual plunderers.

The provisions thus brought in were issued among the troops under the command of the officer who had sent these detatchments on the *maraude*. It is obvious that even this system, bad as it was, could not be resorted to with any prospect of success where the country through which the army marched was thinly peopled, or if the army was making extraordinary forced marches, or in the neighbourhood of the enemy; but it must be observed, that even if not resorted to by authority, it was invariably by the private soldiers, and not unfrequently by the officers, of the French army, on their own account. They generally required the food because they had consumed or thrown away the enormous loads which had been packed upon them. But even if they did not necessarily require it, biscuit or ammunition-bread, and the meat of an animal but just killed after a forced march, is but bad food in comparison with what can be got from almost any village in the country; and, in addition to the food, the man *à la maraude* could pick up money and other valuable property.

It must be observed that a French army, after quitting

its magazines or a friendly country, never received a ration of provisions not procured by *la maraude*; and that this army which entered Russia, from the time it quitted the Niemen, in June 1812, till it returned to Smolensk, in November 1812, excepting perhaps some of the Guard, never received a ration which was not procured by *la maraude.*

In all these accounts it is frequently stated that Napoleon complained that his orders were not obeyed, and that magazines of provisions for his army were not formed, upon the retreat, at the places at which he had ordered that they should be formed. This may be true. But it must be observed that these orders were not given as other Generals at the head of armies have given similar orders, pointing out the places where, and the means by which, these provisions were to be collected and stored in magazine; and by supplying the money necessary to pay for their cost. There was but one resource for collecting these magazines; that was, *la maraude.*

Officers were placed in fortified houses or posts in the towns and villages on the high road from Smolensk to Moscow, with orders to collect magazines to supply the troops in the post, and to assist the reinforcements, recruits and traineurs, coming up to join the army, and eventually the army itself. Was money placed at their disposal to purchase these supplies in a country overrun with Jews, who, if money had been produced, would have procured provisions in exchange for it from any distance? No! The officer in command of such post was to plunder the villages in his neighbourhood, already ruined and exhausted by the passage and operations of two hostile armies, and by the repeated plunder which they had suffered by detachments or single traineurs.

If Napoleon entertained expectations that magazines would have been formed in such situations, it is not astonishing that he should have been disappointed on his

retreat: it would have been astonishing if any officer had been able to collect a magazine under such circumstances.

At Smolensk and at Orcha on the Dnieper, on the return of the army, in November 1812, it appears that magazines of provisions were formed; that is to say, some of the squadrons, regiments, and brigades of carts before mentioned had found their way to, and had discharged their loads into, the magazines at those places; but the army was at that time in such a state of disorganisation that those magazines were of little or of no utility. The truth is, that nearly the whole army was, from the period of the commencement of the retreat, *à la maraude* in search of provisions. Nobody would believe that there could be any regular issue of provisions from any magazine; and no officer or soldier would join his corps in hopes of obtaining his portion of such an issue. Besides, the truth is, that the officers of the French commissariat and the *gardes magasins*, etc., were so little accustomed to make such issues, that they were not expert in the performance of this part of their duty. They performed it but slowly; and men who were starving with hunger and cold were but little disposed to wait to satisfy their appetites till these persons had gone through all the formalities required by their *comptabilité*, the meaning and use of which they did not understand. It is not astonishing, then, that they should have eaten the horses fit for service, employed in the draught of pieces of cannon upon the glacis of Smolensk, while waiting to receive their rations from the magazines in that town.

The system of the French army, then, was the cause of its irregularities, disorders, and misfortunes; and of its loss.

Let us now see what was gained by the forced marches which, it will not be denied, rendered it necessary to leave behind all the means of supplying the army which the foresight of Napoleon had provided.

The object which Napoleon had first in view was to oblige the Emperor of Russia to fight a great battle, or to cut off one of his detachments. The Emperor's position at Wilna, and the entrenched camp prepared at Drissa, on the Dwina, had been known to Napoleon at Paris previous to his departure from thence. The information was confirmed at Dresden; and the conversation and boast of the army was, that the Emperor of Russia should there be caught *en flagrant délit.*

In order to effect this object, the army was to move by forced marches, first from its cantonments on the Vistula to the Niemen, and thence to the Dwina.

In order to understand these movements, it is necessary to follow them in some detail. Napoleon, after having remained at Dresden twelve days, quitted that town on the 29th of May. He stopped at Thorn two days, at Dantzick four days, at Königsberg four days, at Gumbinnen two days; and he arrived opposite Kowno, on the Niemen, on the 23rd of June.

The army which had been cantoned on the Vistula broke up from thence about the 1st of June, and marched in different columns by corps and by forced marches to the Niemen, which river it reached in different points, but principally in the neighbourhood of Kowno, on the 23rd, and commenced to cross it on the 24th.

From the Vistula to Vitepsk, on the Dwina, is 700 wersts, or about 470 to 480 English miles, 3 wersts being nearly equal to 2 English miles. From the Vistula to the Niemen is about half the distance. The whole distance might be marched by an army, with all its train, in forty marches; in fact, an army would march with facility 20 wersts in a day. It appears therefore that up to the Niemen, Napoleon had already lost four days in comparison with an army moving by the ordinary marches. Yet he had moved by forced marches, and had left behind all the equipments and stores of provisions which his fore-

knowledge of the difficulties of his enterprise had induced him to provide.

Excepting that it is the necessary fate of a French army to move by forced marches, there was no occasion for the movement in this manner from the Vistula. The Emperor of Russia must have known of the march of his enemy from the cantonments on the Vistula, yet he made no movement, as will appear presently, till the 26th of June, two days after he heard that the head of the French army had crossed the Niemen. But an army which makes even the ordinary march cannot procure provisions for everybody by *la maraude*. There is not time. The modern French armies therefore move by forced marches through poor and thinly inhabited countries, and halt for one or more days in the neighbourhood of large towns, or in the richer and better inhabited districts, for the sake of *la maraude*; and thus the time is consumed. The consequence of these forced marches, however, is that the troops, and the horses of the army in particular, become knocked up. The convoys of provisions, etc., are necessarily left behind, and are no longer under the inspection and control of the superior officers of the army; robberies and other disorders are committed; and it happens not unfrequently that the stores belonging to one corps of the army are plundered by the soldiers of another, probably *à la maraude* in search of provisions.

It appears, then, that the French army not only gained no time, but lost time by its forced marches up to the Niemen. Its subsequent operations to Vitepsk shall now be examined.

The Emperor of Russia had four armies. The first, under Barclay de Tolly, with which he was himself in person, had its headquarters at Wilna; its right was at Keidany, under Wittgenstein; its centre at Swentziany, on the high road from Wilna to the camp at Drissa; and its

left at Lida, under Doctorof. Its numbers were 126,500 men, including 7000 Cossacks, at Grodno, under Platof. It was intended to concentrate this army at Swentziany as soon as the French army should cross the Niemen; and that from thence it should fall back upon the entrenched camp at Drissa. These movements were carried into execution, excepting by the Cossacks under Platof, and a division of the 4th Corps under General Dorokhof, which did not receive in time its orders for the movement. These troops joined Bagration, and retired with him. The main body of the army arrived in the camp at Drissa on the 11th of July.

The second army was under Bagration. It consisted of 39,000 men, including 4000 Cossacks. This army was besides joined by Platof with his Cossacks from Grodno, and by the division of infantry of the 4th Corps under General Dorokhof. Bagration's headquarters were at Wolkowisk. Those of Platof at Grodno. One Corps of Bagration's army was at Novri-Dhor and another at Zelwa. It must be observed that Grodno and Wolkowisk were 70 wersts asunder, and each 80 wersts from Lida, where the left of Barclay's army was posted; Lida was over 80 wersts farther removed from the camp at Drissa than Wilna, where Napoleon had his headquarters on the 28th of July, and Wolkowisk and Grodno were 150 wersts farther removed from the same points than Wilna.

It is not necessary now to detail the positions of the 3rd and 4th armies. The third was in Volhynia, under Tormasof; the fourth, still on the Turkish frontier, under Admiral Tchitchakof.

Bagration's army was originally destined to operate in rear of the right of the French army which should cross the Niemen, but that destination was altered by the orders received by Bagration from Barclay de Tolly on the 28th of June, the day on which Bagration received intelligence of the passage of the Niemen by Napoleon. It was found

that the King of Westphalia, at the head of an army, supposed 80,000 men, covered that movement of the French army, and it was therefore considered useless to employ Bagration's corps against such a force. Barclay de Tolly accordingly directed him to march by Minsk on Borisof, and thence to the left of the Berezina.

Bagration moved on that evening upon Zelwa; but upon the 30th he received fresh orders from the Emperor Alexander directing him to move upon the camp at Drissa.

It will have been observed that he received these orders two days after Napoleon had established his headquarters in Wilna, and that Bagration was at 150 wersts of greater distance to the camp at Drissa than the troops at Wilna, or seven days' march. It may therefore be fairly computed that he was seven days too late.

Neither Napoleon nor any other general ever had so fair an opportunity of carrying into execution his favourite measure, of placing his army on the communication of that of his enemy by cutting the army of the enemy in two.

It would appear, however, that he was not aware of the advantage he had over his enemy till the 30th of June. He had detached all the cavalry under Murat (with the exception of the corps of cavalry under Latour Maubourg, and that under Grouchy), three divisions of the 1st Corps under Count de Lobau, the 2nd Corps under Oudinot, and the 3rd Corps under Ney, in pursuit of Barclay de Tolly's army towards the Dwina. On the 30th June a patrol of Davout's fell in with one of Doctorof's at Osmiana, and it was then that the nature of the movement of Bagration was known.

The 5th Corps under Poniatowsky, the 7th under Regnier, and the 8th under the King of Westphalia, and Latour Maubourg's corps of cavalry, had been collected at Grodno, and were under the command of the King of

Westphalia. These troops, except the 7th Corps, which was sent to join Schwarzenberg, were sent in pursuit of Bagration; while three divisions of the 1st Corps under Davout, and the corps of cavalry under Grouchy, were detached from the side of Wilna upon Bagration's right flank.

Bagration was even forced to give up the direct line of his march upon Drissa; next that by Minsk and Borisof; and he passed the Berezina with some difficulty at Bobruisk, which post had been fortified. He then marched upon the Dnieper and endeavoured to pass that river at Mohilef, but failed in consequence of having been repulsed in an attack which he made upon Davout, near that town, on the 23rd July. He then crossed the Dnieper, on the 26th July, lower down, at Staroi-Bickoff, and marched upon Smolensk, where he formed his junction with Barclay de Tolly on the 1st and 2nd of August.

During these movements by forced marches of the wings of his army, Napoleon remained at Wilna with the Guard and the 4th Corps under the Viceroy, and the 6th Corps under St. Cyr, till the 16th of July, when he likewise moved with those troops towards the Dwina. The troops had moved on the 12th and following days; the Russian army quitted the camp of Drissa on the 14th of July, crossed the river Dwina, and marched by the right bank to Polotsk, where it arrived on the 18th. The Emperor there quitted the army, and went to Moscow. The army renewed its march on the 20th, and went by the right bank to Vitepsk, where it arrived on the 23rd, having again crossed the Dwina, and took up a position on the Luczissa, on the left bank of the Dwina, with the right flank to that river.

Wittgenstein's corps was left behind on the right of the Dwina to observe the road to St. Petersburg. The French army, with the exception of the 2nd Corps under Oudinot,

which was left upon the lower Dwina opposed to Wittgenstein, followed on the left of the Dwina the movement of the Russian army on the right bank; and the whole, joined with the Guard and the 4th Corps, at Beszenkowiczy, on the 24th of July.

There was an affair of advanced guards the next day, at Ostrowno; the Russians retired, and the French army *en masse* moved forward upon Vitepsk; and the two armies were *en présence* near Vitepsk early on the 27th of July.

The object of the Russian movement from the camp at Drissa was to effect the junction with Bagration, who had been ordered to move upon Vitepsk, by Orcha; and Barclay de Tolly would have fought a battle to secure the junction. On the evening of the 27th of July, however, Barclay de Tolly learnt that Bagration, having been repulsed on the 23rd, in his attack upon Davout, near Mohilef, was under the necessity of passing the Dnieper lower down; that he could not therefore move upon Orcha and Vitepsk, but that he would march upon Smolensk.

Barclay de Tolly therefore marched in the night of the 27th of July towards Smolensk, where he effected his junction with Bagration on the 1st and 2nd of August.

Napoleon might have attacked the Russian army on the 27th, in the afternoon, or he might have posted troops on their flank in such manner as that their movement must have been known to him as soon as it should be made. But this precaution was neglected; and the Russian army made a retreat so clean, and in such regular order, as that some time elapsed before it was known by what route they had marched. Indeed this want of knowledge of the movements of their enemy from positions in their sight was more frequent in the armies commanded by Napoleon than in any other. It occurred again at Smolensk, once before and once after the battle of Borodino, and again in a very remarkable manner at the capture of Moscow.

Thus it appears that the object of all these forced marches was frustrated. There had been no battle and the two Russian corps were joined.

The French army had suffered severely by the forced marches which it had made; all its supplies had been left behind, and a halt at Vitepsk became necessary. Ségur asserts that the plan was here altered, which is denied by Gourgaud;[1] but whether it was or not, it is obvious that the distress of the army was imminent, that their losses were already immense, and that the seeds of their destruction were laid.

But not only was the object of the forced marches lost, but time, still more precious, was lost. The army had been fifty-seven days from its cantonments on the Vistula to Vitepsk, the distance being 700 wersts, which might have been marched with ease in thirty-five or forty days.

But I will go farther, and assert that the loss of time by Napoleon in these first operations was the cause of the failure in effecting the object for which they were undertaken. It is obvious that the corps of troops which pursued Barclay de Tolly were too strong for that officer to attempt to turn round and meet them in the field, as were those under the King of Westphalia and Davout much too strong to be opposed by Bagration.

Napoleon had the advantage of knowing to a certainty before he commenced this war what his enemy's first movement would be. The entrenched camp of Drissa was the position of his enemy's reserves and magazines; it was near the road to Petersburg; and the position of the Russian army behind the Niemen, and of the headquarters at Wilna, showed that the first movement would be upon this camp.

Napoleon must be supposed to have made up his mind as to what his object was in the war, and that this object

[1] *Napoléon et la Grande-Armée en Russie;* par le Général Gourgaud. Paris, 1825.

was Moscow. He might then with safety have left his wings to pursue the enemy opposed to them respectively; and he might himself, with the Guards and the 4th Corps, have moved direct upon Vitepsk from Wilna, or upon Rudnia, or even upon Smolensk. He ought to have made this movement as soon as possible after his arrival at Wilna; and certainly as soon as he had received positive intelligence of the position of Bagration. No forced marches would in that case have been required; he might have moved direct upon Moscow from Wilna by the ordinary marches. He would have found himself at Vitepsk on the 20th of July, leaving Wilna as late as the 4th of July, with above 120,000 men between the two armies of the enemy, with no force in his front, with all their lines of communication at his mercy, and with a superior army following each of theirs; and he would have been accompanied by all the resources and equipments avowedly necessary to enable his army to keep the field in such a country as Russia.

On that day Barclay de Tolly was still at Polotsk on the Dwina, having remained in the camp at Drissa only three days, and Bagration still on the right of the Dnieper, below Mohilef, and Napoleon would have had it in his power to choose whether to attack either, or to continue his march to Moscow between both. This advantage was lost, however, by the unaccountable delay at Wilna, from the 28th of June to the 16th of July.

In the meantime Barclay de Tolly made a flank march along the whole front of the enemy's army of not much less than 250 wersts, and ended by effecting his junction with Bagration at Smolensk, on the 1st and 2nd of August, thus defeating his enemy in all his objects. His troops were collected; they had sustained no defeat. They were posted on their own line of communication with the points and provinces which they were destined to defend; and they were evidently in a better position, and in better con-

dition for the future operations of the campaign than were those of his enemy.

Napoleon halted at Vitepsk; and the armies were then posted as follows in the beginning of August.

The Grand Russian Army at Smolensk. The corps of Wittgenstein on the left of the Dwina, at Osweia, in observation of the movements of the French in that quarter; the corps of Tormasof, in Volhynia, opposed to the Austrian corps under Prince Schwarzenberg; and the 7th Corps of the French army under General Regnier, which had been sent back from the army commanded by the King of Westphalia in order to co-operate with Prince Schwarzenberg against Tormasof. There was a Russian garrison in Bobruisk, on the Berezina, and a corps of 15,000 men, under General Hœrtel, at Mozyr.

Tchitchakof's army was still upon the Danube.

The French army was stationed as follows, beginning with the right. The Austrian corps under Prince Schwarzenberg, and the 7th Corps of the French army, were upon the Bug opposed to Tormasof. Latour Maubourg's corps of cavalry was blockading Bobruisk; but was at this time relieved by Dombrowsky's division of the 5th corps; and Latour Maubourg joined the army.

The 5th Corps under Poniatowsky, the 8th Corps under Junot (the King of Westphalia having withdrawn from the army in disgust), were upon the Dnieper, between Orcha and Mohilef. The corps of cavalry under Grouchy, and the three divisions of the corps under Davout, were cantoned between the Dnieper and the Berezina. These were the troops which had followed Bagration.

The Guards, three divisions of the 1st Corps, the 3rd Corps under Ney, the 4th Corps under the Viceroy, and all the cavalry, with the exception of the corps under Latour Maubourg, at Bobruisk, were with Napoleon in the neighbourhood of Vitepsk, being cantoned between the

Dwina and the Dnieper, and along the Dwina as far as Souraij.

The 2nd Corps, under Oudinot, was lower down the Dwina, at Polotsk, in observation of Wittgenstein.

The 6th Corps on its march to join Oudinot.

The 10th Corps under Marshal Macdonald, consisting of the Prussian corps and other troops, was in the neighbourhood of Riga, being destined to carry on the siege of that fortress.

On the 31st of July Oudinot had an affair with the corps under Wittgenstein, in the neighbourhood of Kliastisky, on the road from Polotsk towards St. Petersburg, but he was obliged to retire. Napoleon then reinforced this corps by joining to it the 6th Corps, consisting of 25,000 men under St. Cyr. Excepting this affair, and an unsuccessful attack upon Oudinot and St. Cyr, joined at Polotsk on the 19th of August, nothing important was done on either side on this flank of the army from that period till the end of October. Macdonald had collected at Mittau the means of making the siege of Riga; but the place was not even invested.

There were thus on the left flank of the army upon the Dwina the 3rd Corps of 37,000 men under Oudinot, the 6th Corps of 25,000 under St. Cyr, the 10th Corps of 33,000 men under Macdonald.

On the right flank of the army Schwarzenberg and Regnier, after beating General Tormasof in an affair at Gorodeczna on the 12th of August, obliged him to retire beyond the Styr River on the 29th of August.

The Austrian corps consisted of 34,000 men, of which 7300 were cavalry; the 7th Corps, under Regnier, had 17,000 men.

Affairs remained in this situation on this flank till Tchitchakof, from the Danube, joined Tormasof on the Styr. The army of the Danube, consisting of 40,000 men, commenced its march, on the 1st of August, from

Bucharest, and arrived upon the Styr on the 16th of September. The two Russian armies in this quarter, when joined, were 60,000 men.

The accounts are contradictory respecting the objects of Napoleon's halt at Vitepsk. This measure was certainly necessary for his army, already exhausted by its useless and fruitless forced marches. Ségur asserts that Napoleon intended to take up his position for the winter at that point; that he commenced the improvement of his headquarters; and various conversations are reported in which that determination is positively stated. Reasons are not wanting which would have made that appear to be the preferable plan for Napoleon.

It must be observed respecting Ségur that he filled the office about headquarters which was most likely to give a man of talents, which he certainly is, the means and opportunity of knowing all that passed. His particular duty was to take up and distribute the quarters in the headquarters of the army. It is not improbable that in making this distribution he took care of himself; and he doubtless had a very agreeable house, wherever such was to be had. No officer could have gone to or from headquarters without communicating with Ségur; and most probably, indeed certainly, if he is the man of ability he appears, he must have heard the story of every officer who arrived at or departed from headquarters both before and after he had seen Napoleon; and as he had no occupation excepting that of superintending the distribution of the quarters at headquarters, he must have had ample time to hear everything. There cannot, then, be a better authority than Ségur; and it must be observed that he is a great admirer of Napoleon; and those who know the French army will see that Ségur is not a *faux frère.*

The intention of remaining at Vitepsk is, however, positively denied by others of great authority; and it does appear extraordinary that Napoleon should in the month

of July take up his quarters for the winter. However, whether he ever did or not seriously intend to take up his quarters at Vitepsk, he afterwards abandoned that intention, and on the 12th of August made a great movement, which it is the next object of this paper to discuss.

The Russian army at Smolensk, seeing the manner in which the French army was dispersed in cantonments between the river Dwina and Dnieper, moved, on the 7th of August, towards Rudnia in order to beat up their quarters. They succeeded in surprising those of Sebastiani, and did him a good deal of mischief in an attack upon Inkowo. In the meantime Barclay de Tolly was alarmed by a movement made by the Viceroy about Souraij, on the Dwina, and he countermanded the original plan of operations with a view to extend his right flank; and for some days afterwards the Russian army made various false movements, and was in a considerable degree of confusion. Whether Napoleon's plan was founded upon the march of the Russian army from Smolensk, as supposed by Ségur, or upon their position at Smolensk in the first days of August, he carried it into execution notwithstanding that march.

Accordingly, he broke up his cantonments upon the Dwina on the 10th of August, and marched his army in different columns by corps across the front of the Russian army from these cantonments to Rassassna upon the Dnieper. The false movements made by the Russian army between the 7th and the 12th of August prevented their obtaining early knowledge of this march; and they were not in a situation to be able to take advantage of it. On the other hand, Napoleon could have had no knowledge of the false movements made by the Russian army.

Being arrived at Rassassna, where he was joined by Davout with three divisions of the 1st Corps, etc., he crossed the Dnieper on the 14th. The corps of Poniatowski and Junot were at the same time moving upon Smolensk direct from Mohilef.

Napoleon moved on upon Smolensk.

The garrison of that place, a division of infantry, under General Newerowskoi, had come out as far as Krasnoi in order to observe the movements of the French troops on the left of the Dnieper supposed to be advancing along the Dnieper from Orcha. Murat attacked this body of troops with all his cavalry; but they made good their retreat to Smolensk. Murat endeavoured to destroy this body of troops by repeated charges of his cavalry. These charges were of little avail, however; and this operation affords another instance of the security with which good infantry can stand the attack of cavalry. This division, of about 6000 infantry, had no artificial defence, excepting two rows of trees on each side of the road, of which they certainly availed themselves. But the use made even of this defence shows how small an obstacle will impede and check the operations of the cavalry.

It would probably have been more advisable if Murat, hearing of the movement of Poniatowsky and Junot direct from Mohilef upon Smolensk, had not pushed this body of troops too hard. They might have been induced to delay on their retreat in order effectually to reconnoitre their enemy. The fort would undoubtedly in that case have fallen into the hands of Poniatowski.

On the 17th of August Napoleon assembled the whole of the operating army before Smolensk, on the left of the Dnieper. It consisted as follows:

	Men.
The cavalry under Murat, . .	40,000
Guards, ...	47,000
1st Corps, Davout, . . .	72,000
3rd Corps, Ney, ...	39,000
4th Corps, the Viceroy, . .	45,000
5th Corps, Poniatowski, . .	36,000
8th Corps, Junot, . . .	18,000
	297,000

These corps had, about six weeks before, entered the country with the numbers above stated. They had had no military affair to occasion loss, yet Ségur says they were then reduced to 185,000. The returns of the 3rd August are stated to have given those numbers only.

The town had been attacked on the 16th, first by a battalion (really a division) of the 3rd Corps, which troops were repulsed.

In the meantime Bagration moved upon Katan upon the Dnieper, having heard of Napoleon's movement from the Dwina, and Barclay de Tolly having authorised the resumption of the plan of operations in pursuance of which the Russian army had broken up from Smolensk on the 7th, he moved thence, on the 16th, along the right of the Dnieper back upon Smolensk. He immediately reinforced the garrison of Smolensk. He was followed that night by Barclay de Tolly, who relieved the troops under the command of Bagration which were in the town; and the whole Russian army was collected at Smolensk, on the right of the Dnieper.

Bagration moved during the same night with his army towards Dorogobouje, on the road to Moscow. Barclay remained in support of the troops in Smolensk.

Napoleon, after waiting till two o'clock in expectation that Barclay would cross the Dnieper, and move out of Smolensk and fight a general battle, attacked the town on the 17th with his whole army, and was repulsed with loss; and in the evening the Russian troops resumed possession of all the outposts. Barclay, however, withdrew the garrison in the night of the 17th, and destroyed the bridges of communication upon the Dnieper between the fort and the town.

The enemy crossed the Dnieper by fords, and obtained for a moment possession of the faubourg of Petersburg, on the right of that river, but were driven back. The Russian army, after remaining all day on the right of the

river, opposite Smolensk, retired on the night of the 18th; and the French that night repaired the bridges on the Dnieper.

Before I proceed farther with the narrative, it is necessary to consider a little this movement of Napoleon's, which is greatly admired by all the writers upon the subject. When this movement was undertaken, the communication of the army was necessarily removed entirely from the Dwina. Instead of proceeding from Wilna upon Vitepsk, it proceeded from Wilna upon Minsk, where a great magazine was formed; and thence across the Berezina upon Orcha upon the Dnieper; and thence upon Smolensk.

The consequences of this alteration will appear presently when we come to consider of the retreat. It is obvious that the position of the great magazine at Minsk brought the communications of the army necessarily upon the Berezina; and eventually within the influence of the operations of the Russian armies from the southward.

Napoleon's objects by the movement might have been three. First, to force the Russians to a general battle; secondly, to obtain possession of Smolensk without the loss or the delay of a siege; thirdly, to endeavour again to obtain a position in rear of the Russian army upon their communications with Moscow, and with the southern provinces of the Russian empire.

This movement is much admired and extolled by the Russian as well as the French writers upon this war, yet if it is tried by the only tests of any military movements, its objects compared with its risks and difficulties, and its success compared with the same risks and difficulties, and with the probable risks and the probably successful result of other movements to attain the same objects, it will be found to have failed completely.

The risk has been stated to consist, first, in the march of the different corps from their cantonments on the

Dwina to Rassassna on the Dnieper, across the front of the Russian army, without the protection of a body of troops posted for that purpose; and next, in the risk incurred in removing the communication of the army from Vitepsk to Minsk. This will be discussed presently.

In respect to the first object, that of bringing the Russian army to a general action, it must be obvious to everybody that the fort of Smolensk and the Dnieper river were between Napoleon and the Russian army when his movement was completed, and the armies not only in sight, but within musket-shot of each other. It was impossible for Napoleon to bring his enemy to an action on that ground without his consent; and as the ground would not have been advantageous to the Russian army, and an unsuccessful or even a doubtful result would not have saved Smolensk, and there was no object sufficiently important to induce the Russian General to incur the risk of an unsuccessful result of a general action, it was not very probable that he would move into the trap which Ségur describes as laid for him.

Neither was it likely that Napoleon would take Smolensk by any assault which this movement might enable him to make upon that place. He had no heavy artillery; and he tried in vain to take the place by storm, first by a battalion, then by a division, and lastly by the whole army. He obtained possession of Smolensk at last only because the Russian General had made no previous arrangements for occupying the place; and Barclay knew that if he left a garrison there unprovided, it must fall into Napoleon's hands a few days sooner or later. The Russian General then thought proper to evacuate the place when he retired his army from it; and notwithstanding the position of Napoleon on the left of the Dnieper, and his attempts to take the place by storm, the Russian General would have maintained the possession if he could either have maintained the position of his own army in

the neighbourhood, or have supplied the place adequately before he retired from it.

The possession of the place depended, then, upon the position of the Russian army; and what follows will show that other measures than those adopted, and other movements, were better calculated to dislodge the Russian army from Smolensk than that which was made. There can be no doubt that upon Napoleon's arrival at Smolensk he had gained six marches upon his enemy.

If Napoleon, when he crossed the Dnieper at Rassassna, had masked Smolensk, and marched direct upon any point of the Dnieper above that place, and there placed his bridges, he would indeed have posted himself with his whole army upon the communications of his enemy with Moscow, and his enemy would scarcely have attempted to pass across his front to seek the road by Kalougha. He must have gone to the northward, evacuating or leaving Smolensk to its fate; and Napoleon might have continued his march upon Moscow, keeping his position constantly between his enemy and his communications with that city and with the southern provinces. The fate of Smolensk could not have been doubtful.

Here then a different mode of manœuvring, even upon the same plan, would have produced without loss two of the three objects which Napoleon is supposed to have had in view by these movements. But these were not the only movements in his power at that time.

The Viceroy is stated to have been at Souraij and Velij. If, instead of moving by his right, Napoleon had moved by his left, and brought the 1st, 5th, and 8th Corps from the Dnieper to form the reserve, and had marched from Souraij upon any point of the Upper Dnieper, he would equally have put himself in the rear of his enemy upon his communications.

He would have effected this object with more certainty if he could have ventured to move the 1st and the 5th

and 8th Corps through the country on the left of the Dnieper; and in this last movement there would have been no risk; first, because Napoleon's manœuvres upon the Dwina would have attracted all the enemy's attention; secondly, because these corps would all have passed Smolensk before the Russian Generals could have known of their movement, in like manner as Napoleon passed the Dnieper, and arrived at Smolensk without their knowledge.

By either of these modes of proceeding Napoleon would have cut off his enemy from their communication; would have obliged them to fight a battle to regain it; and in all probability Smolensk would have fallen into his hands without loss, with its buildings entire. Either of these last modes of effecting the object would have been shorter by two marches than the movements of the whole army upon Rassassna.

The advantage for the French army of this position upon the Upper Dnieper was so obvious that Barclay de Tolly would not allow a night to pass over his head without occupying it. Accordingly, on the very night of his arrival, that of the 16th, at Smolensk, he sent off Bagration along the Dnieper to proceed as far as Dorogobouje. He retired himself on the night of the 18th, and proceeded at first for some wersts along the road from Smolensk to St. Petersburg, and thence turned to the right to join the road from Smolensk to Moscow. The point of communication of the two roads is at Loubino. Barclay de Tolly's object in moving by the road of St. Petersburg was to avoid the loss which his troops would have sustained by the fire of his enemy's cannon from the left of the Dnieper. But he ought to have kept a sufficient rear-guard in front of Loubino in order to protect the movement of his army from the Petersburg to the Moscow road at that point.

On the morning after the retreat of the Russian army

Marshal Ney crossed the Dnieper; and here again the movement of the Russians had been so clean, and had been so little observed by their enemies, that Marshal Ney halted some time before he determined by which of the routes he would pursue the enemy.

He first moved by the route of St. Petersburg, but Napoleon stopped him; he then moved by that from Smolensk to Moscow. He very soon overtook the enemy's rear-guard, when an affair ensued in which both sides sustained great loss. The Russians, however, having reinforced their rear-guard, were enabled to maintain their position during a sufficient length of time for their army to pass Loubino, the point at which the road of communication with the high-road from Smolensk to St. Petersburg joins the high-road from Smolensk to Moscow. As soon as the whole army had passed Loubino, the Russian rear-guard retired.

Davout supported Marshal Ney. The failure of the operation of the day is attributed to Junot, who, having been detached from Smolensk to cross the Dnieper at Prouditchevo, upon the left flank of the Russian rear-guard, omitted to move forward after he had crossed the Dnieper with his corps.

It must be observed, however, that parts of three corps d'armée having been engaged in this operation, Napoleon ought to have been on the ground himself to superintend and direct their movements.

The French army was formed into what were called Corps d'Armée, each commanded by a King, the Viceroy, a Marshal, or a General Officer having pretensions founded upon former services to be promoted to that rank. Each corps d'armée was composed of officers and troops of all arms, and completely equipped with bridges, artillery, commissariat, etc., to enable the corps to act separately as an army. A corps d'armée consisted of from six to two divisions of troops, each commanded by a Général de

Division. Each division of three or two brigades, each commanded by a Général de Brigade. Each brigade consisted of three or two regiments, and each regiment of three or two battalions. A division upon taking the field was about ten or twelve thousand men; so that the strength of the corps d'armée varied from about 25,000 to 70,000 men. Each of the officers commanding these corps d'armée exercised over the movements of his own corps a command independent of all excepting of Napoleon himself. Not only they declined to obey each other, but would not attend to suggestions or advice in respect to the operations of their several corps in critical moments; and from the great caution with which it appears that Napoleon proceeded in placing one of these authorities in command over others, and the paucity of the instances in which he adopted such a measure, it may almost be believed that he was apprehensive of a refusal to obey the order.

There are several instances throughout this service in Russia of inconvenience resulting from the refusal of the commander of one corps d'armée to obey the commander of the other upon occasions in which it appears from the letters that Napoleon had ordered the senior to take the command of the whole; and as the juniors refused to obey, it is probable that Napoleon had omitted to inform them that they were placed under the command of their senior.

This organisation of corps d'armée gave great efficiency to the French army when under Napoleon, and was very convenient in all great movements and operations. But this organisation rendered it necessary for Napoleon himself to be present upon all occasions in which it was necessary to employ more than one corps d'armée in an operation. He ought to have been present, then, in this affair with the Russian rear-guard. He was aware of, indeed present at, its commencement, and the action took place

within hearing of headquarters. He knew that two corps, besides the cavalry under Murat, were employed and that that of Davout was stationed in the neighbourhood of the field of battle; and he was called upon for reinforcements, and he sent a division of the 1st Corps (Davout's) to reinforce Ney. If he had gone himself, he would have seen the advantage of moving Junot's corps from the bank of the river. His order would have induced that officer to move, and the result would have been, that in all probability the Russian army would have sustained great loss in its equipments, and all the troops which had not passed the point of junction of the two roads would have been cut off.

The Russian army, however, having effected this movement, was again collected upon the great road to Moscow, with its communication with that city and with the southern provinces of the Russian empire open, and Napoleon's plan had again been defeated.

The accounts show in what state Smolensk fell into his hands; and that this place did not afford him even shelter for the wounded of his army in the fruitless attempts to take the place by storm; and in the action which followed, which produced no result.

From this place Murat, supported by Davout, pursued the march of the Russian army; and although some circumstances occurred in this march worthy of observation, this paper is already so long that I will observe but little upon them.

As usual, Napoleon delayed for seven days at Smolensk in uncertainty, as stated by Ségur, whether he should proceed or not. He was at length roused by the report of the prospect that the Russians were disposed to take up a position to fight a battle at Dorogobouje, four or five marches from Smolensk. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed, as the Russian generals did not approve of that position. They continued their retreat

then to Borodino, where Kutusof, having joined and taken the command, the Russian army halted, determined to fight a general action with their enemy. They were reinforced by all the troops which could be sent to them from Moscow, etc.; and the position they chose was certainly naturally strong; and they augmented its strength by works. But notwithstanding the advantages with which they fought this battle, and the political advantages which resulted from it, it may be doubted whether, upon military principles, it ought to have been fought.

For political reasons it was necessary to fight a great battle before the enemy should be allowed to obtain possession of Moscow; and it would not have been safe to fight a great battle against such an enemy at a position nearer to Moscow than Borodino was. But a great risk was incurred; and if the result of the day had been more decisive, the campaign would have been lost. Notwithstanding that Napoleon had halted seven days at Smolensk, he was under the necessity of halting two days at Gjatz to collect and prepare his army; and he arrived in presence of his enemy, at Borodino, on the 5th September. The army was thus, from the 19th August, seventeen days marching by forced marches from Smolensk, the distance being 280 wersts, or about fourteen marches.

A criticism upon a battle in which the critic was not present is not likely to meet with much confidence or attention, particularly when made upon the conduct of so consummate a captain on a field of battle as Napoleon was. But it certainly appears that the measure stated by Ségur to have been recommended by Davout would have been the best and would have had the most decisive results; such as alone could render any action desirable to the French army, or be really detrimental to their Russian enemies.

Davout's recommendation was to force and turn the

enemy's left by the old road from Smolensk to Mojaisk; and to attack the Russian army by its rear from the heights in that quarter of their position.

This operation ought to have been performed by a much larger body of men than was proposed by Davout; probably the whole of the 1st, 3rd, 5th, and 8th Corps, and half the cavalry; keeping half the cavalry, the Guards, and the 4th Corps in reserve nearly in the position occupied by the Guards during the battle. The attacking troops might have been formed across the rear of the Russian left on what appears, from the plans and the courses of the rivulets thereon delineated, to be the highest ground in the country. Every movement they would have made would have brought them nearer their reserve; and the slightest success would have cut off the Russian army from its point of retreat, Mojaisk. It is not to be supposed that Napoleon was not aware of this mode of operation; and it is most probable that he did not adopt it because he must have trusted some officer with the execution of the plan; and he could not trust Murat, or decide between the conflicting pretensions of Ney and Davout. It is quite clear, however, that having omitted to adopt this plan his success in the battle was not decisive; and not sufficiently so, even in his own opinion, to enable him to allow his reserve of Guards to attack. Indeed some little circumstances are mentioned which show how little decisive the success was, owing principally to the omission to attack the Russian left in sufficient strength.

One of these is that the Russians weakened their extreme left opposed to Poniatowski, in order to strengthen that part of their line opposed to Davout. Yet Poniatowski could make no progress; and in point of fact made none till Davout had carried the heights and works opposed to the advance of the troops under his own command; thus facilitating the movements of Poniatowski

instead of receiving assistance from the 5th Corps. Another is that the action was continued along the line throughout the evening; and that the Russians, although they had lost their works and their first position, did not retire till the night, and then only as far as Mojaisk.

Their rear-guard again successfully contended with Murat's advanced guard on the day after the battle for the possession of Mojaisk; and the Russian rear-guard did not quit that town till the second day after the battle.

Then if the success was not what Napoleon wished or expected, or of a nature to relieve him from the difficulties of his position, the loss of the French army was immense; and there was but little chance of saving any of the wounded; as the Convent of Kolotskoi to which they were sent was but ill provided as a hospital.

Upon the Russian retreat from Mojaisk one of those circumstances occurred respecting which astonishment has already been expressed. It was not known for some time by what road they had retired. Napoleon suspected that they had retired upon Kalougha, leaving the road upon Moscow open to him; and having already halted the 8th upon the field of battle, he halted the 9th, 10th, and 11th in Mojaisk; he did not move from thence till the 12th, when he had received intelligence upon which he could rely that the Russians had retired upon Moscow. To this point he followed them, and he arrived at Moscow with his whole army on the 14th of September, in 106 days from the time he quitted the Vistula. The distance from the cantonments of the French army on the Vistula to Moscow is 1200 wersts, or 60 to 70 marches; and they marched over that distance in 106 days by forced marches, attended by such fatigue to the troops and horses of the army as to have arrived at Moscow nearly in a state of disorganisation from starvation and distress of every description. Napoleon himself, with his Guards, halted 18 days at Wilna, 18 at Vitepsk, 7 at Smolensk,

and 6 days afterwards, making the whole 49 days. These delays will account for the time lost in effecting the march.

The Russian army retired through Moscow on the 14th September, after a council of war, in which it was determined that it was not expedient to fight another battle to save that city; and they directed their march upon Ryakonow. They crossed the Moskwa about four marches from Moscow near its junction with the Pakra, and continued to march along the course of that river by Polotsk, till they reached the old road from Moscow to Kalougha. They then marched along that road till, on the 2nd of October, they took the position of Taroutino on the Nara, about 75 wersts from Moscow and 75 from Kalougha.

Napoleon, after delaying some time at the gate of Moscow in expectation that a deputation of the inhabitants would be sent out to lay the keys of the town at his feet, entered the town, and found it abandoned by all its native inhabitants, none of those having remained excepting of the lowest rabble, who had even attempted to defend the Kremlin against Murat's advanced guard.

The French advanced guard appears not to have pursued the Russian army from Moscow. It appears that they did not molest the march which they made round the town, and did not even know for some days, till the 26th September, in what direction the Russians had gone.

They got upon the right road at last, however, and having approached the Russian army took up a position near Winkowo in front of the Russians on the Nara, in which they remained till Kutusof attacked them.

On the day Napoleon entered Moscow he ought to have made his arrangements to withdraw from that city. Moscow was not a military position. The possession of it was important to Napoleon only on account of its political importance to the Russian empire. But when the inhabi-

tants had fled, with the exception of the German and French merchants and a few of the rabble, the possession of the town lost its value, and after the fire was no resource to the French army, even in the way of provisions or military equipments. The burning of the town is attributed by all these authors to Rostopchin, who on his part has published a pamphlet in which he denies that he had anything to do with the burning of the town.

If these histories[1] are read with attention it will be seen that Rostopchin was anxious that another battle should be fought even at the gates of the city to save it from falling into the hands of the French, and that a Council of War was assembled on the 13th September to decide whether this battle should be fought or not. The decision was in the negative, and the total evacuation took place next morning, the Russian army having moved through Moscow and the French army having followed them.

It is quite clear that Rostopchin can have taken no measures to set fire to the town previous to the assembly of this Council of War. He could not have foreseen its decision, and if the decision had been in favour of a battle, the Russian army might have fought with the town on fire in their rear, and the reward of their victory might have been its ashes; or on the other hand the Russian army might have had to retire through a town on fire. No man in his senses could have incurred such a risk.

Then between the period of the breaking up the council of war and the retreat of the Russian rear-guard, was there time to adopt the measures stated to have been adopted to set fire to this town? If there were time, Rostopchin could not have executed those measures him-

[1] In addition to the works of Ségur, book viii. c. 2, and Gourgaud, p. 260, see *Histoire de l'Expédition de Russie;* par M——, vol. i., p. 365. Paris, 1823, in two volumes.

self. There must have been some agents, some witnesses of the measures adopted, and Rostopchin could not have contradicted the fact in the face of the world without somebody having been found able and willing to state the truth.

The magazines were not burnt. No mischief was done to the powder magazine in particular, yet in a town abandoned by its inhabitants, doomed by its native governor to be destroyed by fire, surely the object to which he would have first turned his attention, that in which he would most willingly have tried his *infernal machines*, would have been magazines of arms, cannon, etc., and above all the powder magazine.

It is by far more probable that the soldiers of the French army, finding the town abandoned by its inhabitants, broke into the houses to search for plunder on the night of their arrival. Light for this purpose is generally procured by flashing off a firelock, and setting fire to the oil rag with which the musket is commonly kept clean. This oil rag is kept in the hand as long as the latter is not burnt, the rag is then thrown upon the ground or anywhere, and something is found and set fire to, to answer the same purpose. It is thus that a house abandoned by its inhabitants, if plundered by troops, is generally burnt.

It will be observed accordingly, in the account, that but few houses were on fire the first night; a very large number the second night, and the whole town the third night.

It is quite consistent with this mode of setting fire to the town that some of the inhabitants were found engaged in burning houses. Such inhabitants as remained in Moscow are not generally unwilling to share in the benefits to be derived from the sack of such a town as Moscow; and it is not improbable that they increased the confusion and pillage.

The destruction of Moscow by fire apparently made no alteration in Napoleon's intention to remain in that city. He had made endeavours to open a negotiation with the Emperor of Russia for peace, which he flattered himself would be successful; and that this event would relieve him from the difficulties and dangers of his position, which it is impossible to believe that he did not see as well as others. He had written a letter to the Emperor of Russia which Kutusof had consented to forward, and it may be supposed that the expectation of a favourable answer had tended to divert Napoleon's attention from his real situation.

It is certain that, excepting to give orders to evacuate the hospital at the Convent of Kolotskoi, he took no step to prepare for his retreat or for his movement at all from Moscow.

When the future prospects of the army were discussed it appears that he never contemplated a retrograde movement to a greater extent than Smolensk. At times he looked to pass the winter in the southern provinces of the Russian empire about Kalougha, and it appears that he could not bring his mind so far to consider the truth as to calculate the relative strength of the armies opposed to each other upon his flanks, and to ascertain whether it was such as to enable him even to retreat from Russia, or remain within reach of his enemy's armies, much more to maintain a position within that country.

The habit of Napoleon had been to astonish and deceive mankind, and he had come at last to deceive himself. These works contain innumerable instances of this habit of his mind, but those which I am now about to discuss are the most remarkable and the most fatal to himself and his fortunes, and the most fortunate for the world that ever occurred.

It has been already stated that, on the 19th of August, Wittgenstein had made an unsuccessful attack upon the

united corps of Oudinot and St. Cyr, the 2nd and 6th Corps, at Polotsk on the Dwina. Wittgenstein had been repulsed, and retired to his position at Sebej to cover the road to St. Petersburg, and no farther operation was undertaken by either party on this flank of the army from that time. Macdonald, with the 10th Corps, had collected the ordnance and stores necessary for the siege of Riga at Runthal and Borsmunde, but no steps had been taken in order to carry on this operation.

The strength of these three corps is stated in page 370 to have been 95,000 men upon their entry into Russia. Before the battle of Polotsk, of the 19th August, the 2nd and 6th were already reduced—the 2nd Corps to 20,000 men, including the corps of cuirassiers under Doumerc, from 37,000 men; the 6th Corps, to 15,000 men from 25,000 men—the former having had only the affair at Kliastitza, and the latter having only made its marches to Polotsk. The 10th Corps having had no severe marching, and having been but little engaged with the Russians, was not weakened to the same degree. But as long as Napoleon persisted in the design of carrying on the siege of Riga, the 10th Corps under Macdonald could not be considered available to the purpose of protecting the left flank of the army at Moscow.

The only troops available for this service were the 2nd and the 6th Corps, which, supposing them to be as strong in October as previous to the battle of Polotsk, consisted of only 35,000 men. Indeed the Russian accounts say they had only 30,000 men.

Wittgenstein, who on the side of the Russians commanded against Oudinot and St. Cyr, had been in the meantime very considerably reinforced from the interior of Russia as well as from St. Petersburg. These reinforcements joined him in the middle of October.

But he was besides joined by the Russian corps under General Steigentheil, which had been stationed in Finland

with a view to the defence of that province, and detained there afterwards in order to carry into execution the emperor's engagements with the Crown Prince regarding Norway. The reinforcements augmented his corps to 40,000 men, and the corps of Steigentheil, after leaving some men in the garrison of Riga, amounted to 11,000, so that Wittgenstein was enabled to commence his operations against St. Cyr with a considerable superiority of force.

Accordingly he attacked the French at Polotsk on the right of the Dwina, on the 18th and 19th October, while Steigentheil moved by the left of that river. The French were defeated and obliged to retire towards the Orcha. St. Cyr was wounded and quitted the army, the command of which devolved upon the Bavarian General Wrede. There was, however, a dispute respecting the command which was exercised by the French general, Le Grand, and de Wrede consequently took his own line of retreat towards Glubokoe with the Bavarian troops.

When Napoleon determined to move on upon Moscow from Dorogobouje on the 26th August, he had ordered forward to Smolensk the Duc de Bellune with the 9th Corps, consisting of 33,500. The instructions to this corps state that it was to be the reserve of the army at Moscow, and the connecting link of the wings of the army then upon the Styr and upon the Dwina.

But as soon as St. Cyr was defeated by Wittgenstein there was an end of this reserve. Victor was obliged to move in all haste from Smolensk in order to save the 2nd and 6th Corps, and prevent Wittgenstein from performing the part allotted to him in co-operation with Admiral Tchitchakof. He, therefore, moved from Smolensk, and joined on the 31st October to the 2nd and 6th Corps, of which Oudinot had by this time taken the command.

The losses sustained in the affair at Polotsk on the 19th, the separation of the Bavarians and direction given to their march, had so far weakened the 2nd and 6th Corps

that, even when joined by Victor, he did not consider himself strong enough to do more than maintain a defensive against Wittgenstein.

In consequence of being repeatedly urged by Napoleon to make the attack, he did make it on the 14th November at Smoliantzy in the neighbourhood of the Orcha, but failed, not only because he was not sufficiently strong, but because the two marshals, Victor and Oudinot, could not agree in opinion on the plan of attack.

Then on the right flank of the army it appears that the Russian forces on the Styr consisted on the 16th of September of 60,000 men. They were here reorganised and received some reinforcements. General Tormasof was called to fill the place in the Grand Russian Army of Bagration, killed in the battle of Borodino. The whole force was commanded by Admiral Tchitchakof. General Sacken was to command in Volhynia when the admiral should move towards the Berezina.

As soon as the Russian corps joined upon the Styr, the Austrian corps and the 7th Corps of the French army retired before them till they crossed the Bug.

Tchitchakof, after some delay, occasioned principally by the movements of the combined Austrian and French armies before the Bug, separated from Sacken with 38,000 men, leaving Sacken with about 28,000. Tchitchakof pursued his march towards the Berezina, and General Lambert, commanding his advanced guard, took possession of Minsk on the 16th November, having driven out the French garrison. Thus was lost the grand magazine of the French army on its only line of retreat. He followed up this success by marching upon Borisof, of which place and its bridge upon the Berezina he likewise obtained possession on the 21st November. Lambert was wounded in this affair, and Count Pahlen, who succeeded to the command of the advanced guard, pushed forward till he met Oudinot on the 23rd of November at Losnitzka, who

having met the troops flying from Borisof joined them to the 2nd Corps, and attacked Pahlen and obliged him to retire across the Berezina at Borisof, of which place, however, the Russians destroyed the bridge.

The admiral had passed the Berezina with his whole army, and had that river at his back with only one bridge to retire by. He consequently lost in Borisof all the baggage of his army. Admiral Tchitchakof then posted his army upon the Berezina from Bobruisk to the neighbourhood of Zembin.

Schwarzenberg, whose Austrian force was by that time reduced to 25,000 men, followed the movement of the admiral, leaving Regnier with the 7th Corps of the French army opposed to Sacken. But Regnier was soon found too weak to hold his ground; and Schwarzenberg was obliged to return in order to prevent the Russians from reaching Warsaw.

Thus then both Napoleon's flanks were turned and overpowered, and the greatest of all misfortunes threatened the retreating French army, that of large and superior bodies of troops posted on its line of retreat to impede and prevent its march, while others were pursuing it. I will presently discuss the measures taken to get the better of these difficulties, and the nature, amount, and causes of their success. It is now necessary to discuss a little the causes of the misfortune.

Napoleon would never believe, or act as if he believed, either that he was himself, with the body of troops under his immediate command, under the necessity of retreating from his position of Moscow, that any preparatory steps were necessary to enable him to perform that operation, or that the French corps destined to protect his flanks were not stronger than the Russian corps opposed to them.

There is a curious instance in these works of the disposition of his mind to despise and depreciate his enemy, and to exaggerate the means at his own disposal.

General Hœrtel throughout the campaign commanded a corps of observation at Mozyr, and Latour Maubourg, who was employed with his cavalry to blockade Bobruisk on the Berezina, and afterwards Dombrowsky, who relieved him, were repeatedly urged to destroy this corps of General Hœrtel. Both felt they were unequal to the task. But at last General Hœrtel fell upon Dombrowsky and drove him from the blockade of Bobruisk; and it was not till this misfortune occurred that Napoleon was convinced that it was not in the power of Dombrowsky to destroy the corps of General Hœrtel. If Napoleon could have taken a correct view of his position he would have seen, as will appear soon, that it was not in his power, retreating from Moscow on 19th October, to maintain himself within the Russian frontier during the winter; and that even if he did he could not during the winter carry on the operations of the siege of Riga. He ought then, as early as September, to have sent away his battering train and stores. This measure would have rendered Macdonald's corps disposable for operations in the field, and would have given the French a numerical superiority over Wittgenstein upon the Dwina; even after the junction with the latter of the corps of Steigentheil.

Then Napoleon must have known of the direction of the march of Tchitchakof from the Danube, of his arrival upon the Stener and junction with Tormasof, of his consequent numerical superiority to Schwarzenberg; and of the impossibility that the latter should be able to maintain his ground. Napoleon should have reinforced his right by moving thither the 9th Corps under Victor. He had nothing to apprehend in his rear excepting by movements from his flanks, in consequence of the superiority of his enemy on both flanks. But there were still Durutte and Loison's division and other troops at Wilna which might have reinforced the centre of the army, and have occupied points in its rear if such rein-

forcement had been necessary to the centre after the wings had been secured.

These arrangements, however, particularly that of sending back the battering train and its equipments, which to be of any use must have been made in September, would have betrayed to the world the fact that Russia was not to be conquered by coup-de-main or in one campaign. That on the contrary the natural difficulties of the enterprise and the resistance had been found so much more formidable and effective than had been expected, that the means of conquest, however in magnitude and efficiency surpassing any ever before heard of, were not equal to the task of subduing the country; and that the concentration of all was necessary to enable Napoleon to withdraw his main body, his guards, and his own person from the position into which he had adventured. It was preferred to incur all risks, and to trust to all chances rather than to let out this secret. Napoleon endeavoured to convince everybody around him, even to the last moment previous to his departure from Moscow, that he had it in his power to remain for the winter in that city or where else he pleased in Russia. But these relations make it clear that if he deceived himself, if he deceived others at a distance from the seat of the war, at least the principal officers of the army were not deceived, all of whom were aware of the critical nature of the position in which they were placed.

On the other hand the Emperor of Russia appears to have taken every measure which could tend to the total defeat and destruction of his enemy. He took no notice of the insinuations made to him of Napoleon's *love* for him personally, and of his sincere desire for peace, excepting to censure the officers who had conveyed them. He reinforced his armies most judiciously, and particularly those destined to act upon the flanks of the enemy; and his orders for the recommencement of their operations

after the junction of the reinforcements at the same period of the month of October are most judicious. It appears that after Murat had discovered the direction of the retreat of Kutusof from Moscow, on the 26th of September, he followed his movement, and after some skirmishing the French advanced posts finally took up their position opposite the Russian army on the 27th September.

Poniatowski, with the 5th Corps, was at Wereia, and it was necessary to detach many other troops from Moscow to support the advanced guard or to protect the communication with Smolensk, as notwithstanding that in the course of the communications between the two armies there was a sort of understanding between Murat and Kutusof that hostilities should be suspended, which suspension extended only in front of the two bodies opposite to each other, operations were carried on much to the disadvantage of the French army in their rear, and even upon the troops of the French advanced guard on their foraging parties, and it was agreed between the parties that even this suspension of hostilities might be put an end to by either party giving to the other six hours' notice.

Nothing could be more disadvantageous to the French army, and no proof more strong could be given of their weakness than the consent of Napoleon to such an arrangement; and the Russians took every advantage of it.

At length, however, even this state of repose, and Napoleon's dreams of peace, of passing the winter at Moscow, etc., were put an end to, and Kutusof attacked Murat in his position in front of the Russian army on the 18th October. He defeated Murat; and the advantage he gained over him was very considerable. But certainly not what the Russian general had a right to calculate upon. As soon as Napoleon heard of this attack, on the 18th October, he put his troops in motion, and his army

marched on the following morning by the old route of Kalougha.

He left behind him Mortier with *la Jeune Garde* and other troops, with orders to maintain himself in the Kremlin. He sent orders to Mortier on the 20th to remain till 23rd at night, then to blow up that palace, etc., etc., and to retire upon Wereia. It is impossible to advert to this fact without expressing the horror which it inspires. If Napoleon had destroyed a magazine or a work of utility to the Russian army or nation, or even a monument of art, or one to recall the memory of some glorious action by the Russian army or nation, the reader would not have been shocked as by the perusal of formal instructions to destroy the ancient palace of the Czars, solely to mark the impotent desire of revenge because the Emperor of Russia, having declined to submit to insult, had afterwards refused to listen to insidious offers of peace.

Then we shall read of the complaints of the French nation of the occupation of their capital, and of the contributions which they were obliged to pay!

The first marches of Napoleon from Moscow were evidently directed to relieve Murat from the difficulties of his position. After the affair of the 18th he had retired across the Moskwa; and the advanced guard of the army, under the Viceroy, having crossed the Pakra on the 20th, they were in immediate communication with Murat. Ney joined him; and the remainder of the army moved by a cross road from the old to the new road to Kalougha; which road they entered at Fominskoe.

Napoleon's headquarters were at Fominskoe on the 22nd October.

On the 23rd the Viceroy with the advanced guard was beyond Borowsk. Delzons' division of the 4th Corps was forward; from which two battalions were detached to take possession of Malo-Jaroslavetz. Napoleon had his headquarters at Borowsk on that day.

It appears that Kutusof, who after the affair of the 18th had left Murat beyond the Moskwa, returned to his camp at Torontino; and in fact had no intelligence of the French army till the 23rd, when he learnt from Miloradowitch, who commanded his advanced guard, that the French had evacuated Moscow; and that after making two marches on the old they had crossed the country to the new road to Kalougha. He immediately detached Doctorof with his corps, and directed him first upon Borowsk; but finding that the French were there in force he directed him upon Malo-Jaroslavetz, and followed with the whole army in two columns in the evening.

Doctorof arrived at Malo-Jaroslavetz early on the 24th, and immediately attacked the two French battalions in the town, and drove them out. They were supported first by the whole of Delzons' division, and afterwards by the 4th Corps, and then by the 1st Corps; while Doctorof was supported by the Russian army as it arrived. A furious combat ensued, which ended by the town remaining in possession of the French; but during its continuance Kutusof had taken up a position across the new road to Kalougha from Moscow, about two wersts from Malo-Jaroslavetz behind the little stream Louja; in which in the reduced state of the French army, and particularly of the cavalry, it was not thought expedient to attack him.

Napoleon had moved his headquarters on the 24th to Gorodnia. The 25th was passed in an examination of the ground on which the battle of the previous day had been fought; the whole army made a forward movement towards Malo-Jaroslavetz on the 26th; but as the retreat was then determined upon, and that it should be made by Mojaisk and Wiasma, they returned the same day and Napoleon had his headquarters that night at Borowsk. He moved on the following day, the 27th, to Vereia, and arrived at Mojaisk on the 28th, having thus passed ten

days from the day of his retreat from Moscow, and being only four days' march from that city. Davout had the rear-guard, and the Viceroy was to support him.

Before I proceed farther it may be as well to consider the objects of these movements since the departure from Moscow.

The armies opposed to each other were of the strength as follows:—

French infantry, 89,640, including 4000 dismounted cavalry; 15,314 cavalry, 12,000 artillery, etc., with 569 pieces of cannon.

Junot, with the 8th Corps, was at Mojaisk; and Poniatowski with the 5th at Medyn; and Mortier had been left in Moscow with 6000 or 8000 men. These detachments would make a deduction from those numbers of about 15,000 or 16,000 men.

Prince Kutusof had on the 18th October 78,440 men and 620 pieces of cannon, without including the Cossacks.

Napoleon, therefore, had still a superiority of force even after his detachments are deducted from his numbers.

It is evident that his first intention was solely to relieve Murat; and he probably hoped that his adversary would give him an opportunity of fighting a battle with advantage. The mode in which it appears that his intentions were at first confined to these objects is that he did not send Mortier his instructions to march on the 23rd at night upon Vereia till the 20th; the day on which his advanced guard crossed the Pakra, and was within reach of Murat. It is likewise probable that if he had left Moscow, having in view eventually even the march upon Kalougha, he would have sent his baggage and encumbrances by the new road on that place, which was the most direct; and would have marched with a light army only for the relief of Murat, and for the eventual purpose of attacking Kutusof. Napoleon started then from Moscow with one principal object in view and another

eventual, and he took up a third two days afterwards; that is to say, to march upon Kalougha upon his enemy's left flank to anticipate his enemy in that town, avail himself of his enemy's magazines, etc., and make his retreat thence upon Smolensk. When he formed this design it must be observed that although two marches nearer his enemy than when at Moscow, he was at nearly as great a distance from Kalougha as when at Moscow. Indeed as he was obliged to march from the old to the new road to Kalougha across the country, the time necessary to march over the ground would be as long as if he had started from Moscow, and moreover the probability that the design would be discovered by the enemy was much greater than if he had marched at once upon Kalougha from Moscow by the new road to that town. When he determined upon this movement upon Kalougha he was seven or eight marches from that city; and Kutusof, at Taroutino, was only three or four marches.

It is certainly a matter of surprise that Kutusof should not have heard till the 23rd of the direction of Napoleon's march made on the 20th; but it will have been seen that Kutusof was still in time, and was enabled to take a position in front of his adversary between him and the object to which he was directing his march. Even if Kutusof had been a day later, he would have had it in his power to anticipate his adversary and to reach Kalougha before him; but his march on the evening of the 23rd was important inasmuch as it placed him in such a position in relation to the roads from Kalougha to Smolensk as that Napoleon could use none of them; and was obliged from Borowsk to retire by Mojaisk, leaving to his adversary the shortest road to Smolensk, the best and most plentifully supplied with provisions.

It will have been seen that Napoleon, even after deducting his detachments, had still a numerical superiority of force to Kutusof. It is astonishing that he did not attack

his adversary previous to the commencement of his retreat; and endeavour to remove him to a greater distance; and particularly from the roads leading from Kalougha upon Smolensk.

The consequence of this omission will appear hereafter; as will likewise that of the time lost (six days) in moving from Moscow by Malo-Jaroslavetz upon Mojaisk. The leaving Kutusof in possession of these southern communications with Smolensk must likewise be viewed, in connection with the establishment of the great magazine of the army at Minsk. If Napoleon could have directed his retreat upon Vitepsk, the possession of those southern communications by Kutusof was not of such importance. But as he was obliged to go to Smolensk and thence along the Dnieper and across the Berezina upon Minsk, the possession of those communications would have been fatal to him and his army if the Russians had been more active.

Then in respect to the mode in which the retreat was made it appears equally faulty with all the previous measures and manœuvres.

Napoleon should have rendered his army as light as possible, should have destroyed all superfluous baggage, and have reduced as much as possible the number of wheel carriages; as however convenient to individuals they are the most inconvenient and burthensome to the army, create great delays, expose the rear-guards in whose charge they fall, and aggravate all the difficulties which occur on the march.

He should then have marched by two or three separate roads, one column covered by its rear-guard being on each road; or he might have marched back as he marched forward, in three columns, on or immediately close to the same road, which might have been given up to the wheel carriages of the army.

By any of these modes he might have saved his army at

least from any military disaster; and time, of the greatest importance to him, would have been saved.

Instead of adopting any of these modes of retreat he marched in one long column which extended the distance of two or more marches.

In this form the army continued its retreat to Smolensk, where Napoleon with the Guard arrived on the 9th November. Junot with the 8th Corps had arrived before him. The rear-guard under Ney; the 3rd Corps having relieved the 1st at Viasma on the 3rd November, where Miloradowitch attacked the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Corps, and they sustained great loss.

On the 7th of November the frost had commenced; and it is curious to observe the use that is made of this event in all these accounts, particularly by Gourgaud, who is Napoleon's apologist. First, the frost was premature, and earlier in that season than it had ever been known in others. This is not the fact; but what is the fact is that an early frost was foreseen; and the necessity of guarding against this state of the season urged in the 23rd and 24th bulletins in the midst of all the boasting which those documents contain. Any other people in the world, after reading these words written on the 9th, 14th and 20th October, would have been astonished that the famous 29th bulletin of the 3rd December should have attributed the misfortunes of this army to the frost.

But if the frost destroyed the army, and particularly the horses of the army, how did it happen that those corps of the army under Napoleon's own direction lost [1] men and [1] horses between the 1st of June and the 18th of October, of which number not one-sixth were lost in military actions in the field.

Then we are told the loss was occasioned because the French horses were not rough shod. Why were they not rough shod? Is there never any frost in Russia? But

[1] Blank in manuscript.

the excuse is not founded in fact. Those who have followed a French army well know that their horses are always *rough shod*. It is the common mode of shoeing horses in France; and in this respect a French army ought and would have suffered less inconvenience than any other army that ever was assembled.

The date of the commencement of the frost is well known; and the reader has only to refer to the following passages to see that the confusion and indiscipline in the army commenced before it had arrived at Mojaisk, nine days before the frost appeared; and in point of fact Miloradowitch took advantage of that confusion at Viasma in his attack upon the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Corps.

It will be seen from these observations that Napoleon was obliged to abandon all his projects one after the other, and to choose for his retreat the road least advantageous in his own opinion for his army, the most circuitous, not only positively but relatively, with that which he left in the power of his adversary; and this without attempting to gain a military advantage over his enemy, notwithstanding his own still existing superiority of numbers. Yet there is a letter to show that he was still on the 11th November, when at Smolensk, thinking of taking his winter cantonments on the Dnieper; although having retreated with his centre without fighting he knew at the same time that one of his flanks had been overpowered, that he had reason to believe that the other would be so likewise, and that in fact he would find not only that he could not maintain himself within the country, but had not the power of retreating from it.

Napoleon having arrived at Smolensk on the 9th November and remained till the 14th, must have been aware that Kutusof had arrived at Jelnia. A brigade of a division of troops under General Baraguay d'Hilliers had been cut off, and other military misfortunes had occurred in that direction, which must have proved to him that his

adversary was in force on the roads which lead from Kalougha to Smolensk and all the towns on the Dnieper.

The Russian army had on the 26th of October, the day on which Napoleon finally retreated from Malo-Jaroslavetz, likewise made a retrograde movement and took up another position twenty wersts from Malo-Jaroslavetz and nearer Kalougha, at Gonczarowo. Davout with the French rear-guard evacuated Malo-Jaroslavetz in the night of the 26th, and the next morning the retreat of the French army was known to the Russian generals. The Russian army, however, did not move till the 27th at night, and then towards Medyn. But Kutusof did not at once take advantage of his position to move direct upon Viasma or Smolensk; but he followed the direction of Napoleon's march, although it was obvious that the head of the French army, being at Mojaisk on the 28th, had already gained four marches upon him.

The reason for moving in this direction was that it was not supposed possible in the Russian army that Napoleon should move on his retreat by the road by which he had advanced, and upon Minsk. The movements at that time in the course of execution by the Admiral Tchitchakof on the Berezina were known to the Russian generals; and they believed that Napoleon would prefer to direct his march by Wolokowisk, etc., towards Witepsk.

It was only at Kremenskoe, on the 30th of October, that the true line of the French retreat was known in the Russian army. Platof was then ordered to follow their rear with the Cossacks and one division. Miloradowitch was directed upon Gjatz, and Kutusof himself with the main body moved on the 31st towards Viasma. Napoleon was at Viasma on the 1st of November, where he left Ney, and marched on the 2nd to Semlewo.

On the 3rd of November there was a serious affair between the French troops at Viasma and Miloradowitch

in which the French sustained considerable loss. After this affair Kutusof directed his march upon Jelnia with a view to intercept his enemy at Krasnoi. The Russian army arrived at Jelnia on the 8th of November, that is on the day before that on which Napoleon reached Smolensk. He halted there the 9th, on which day his detachment gained the success above mentioned against the French division commanded by General Baraguay d'Hilliers. In the meantime Miloradowitch and Platof were,—the first marching on the flank of the French corps moving on the great road towards Smolensk, and the last following the French army; and both doing them all the mischief in their power.

Thus then on the arrival of Napoleon at Smolensk his adversary, notwithstanding all the mistakes and false movements he had made, was as forward as he was; while the French whole column was harassed and distressed by the corps of Miloradowitch on their flank, and their rear-guard, which since the affair of Viasma on the 3rd of November had been commanded by Ney, was pursued and harassed by Platof.

Under these circumstances Napoleon halted at Smolensk till the 14th November.

If he had remained with a view of refreshing the exhausted troops, or of collecting his columns in order to march *en masse*, and to be able to oppose his whole force to the force of the enemy in case they should endeavour to avail themselves of the advantageous position which they had acquired, either to attack the French army or to intercept its march, this delay would not have been surprising, as the Viceroy, who with the 4th Corps had passed by Dukhowizina from Dorogobouje, sustained great loss in the passage of the Wop; and the 4th Corps did not arrive at Smolensk till the 13th November. The rear-guard under Ney had been delayed on its march to protect the movement of the Viceroy, and did not arrive

till the 15th. But the improvement of the mode of the retreat was not the object of this halt however dangerous and disastrous, and however this improvement was necessary, as it must have been known that the Russian army had been at Jelnia since the 8th of November. The French army commenced afresh, on the 14th, its retreat from Smolensk in the same form as that in which the retreat had been made up to that point, and Ney with the rear-guard was ordered not to quit Smolensk till the 16th, and he did not in fact march till the 17th. On the 14th Osterman was with his corps near Koritnia, and Miloradowitch close to Krasnoi; and Kutusof was near enough with the whole Russian army to support him.

It is astonishing then that the French army should have suffered the military disasters, described nearly in the same words in all these works, which it did suffer on its march from Smolensk to Orcha. These disasters were short only of total destruction; which must have been the fate of the army on this ground if the Russian generals could have known the state to which their enemy was reduced, and Kutusof had been a little more active. But a close examination of the movements of these armies will show how little of the internal state of one hostile army is known to the other; and it is not astonishing that Kutusof, being aware of the numerical inferiority of his own force to that of his adversary when the retreat commenced, and of his own losses in the pursuit, should not have believed that the Guard and those troops which had been the terror of the world were so reduced in numbers, in discipline, and efficiency, as to be unequal to defend themselves against the reduced numbers which he could bring upon them. He was aware of what was passing upon the Berezina and Orcha, and he had reason to expect that the armies under Tchitchakof and Wittgenstein, and fresh and increased natural difficulties, would to a certainty accomplish that destruction of which the

commencement had in a short time been so well effected by the troops under his command.

Each of the corps marching from Smolensk, excepting the Guard, was obliged to quit the high road and to abandon every equipment it possessed. Ney's corps not only quitted the high-road, but crossed the Dnieper on the ice, to march along the right bank of that river; and every wheeled carriage, and every horse, and every creature unable to make the greatest exertion for his safety, was left behind and fell into the hands of the enemy.

It will have been seen that Napoleon delayed from the 9th till the 14th at Smolensk. He did not arrive at Orcha till the 19th on account of the necessity under which he found himself of waiting again at Krasnoi for the troops in his rear, both to save them and himself and his Guard.

He heard at Dombrowna on the 18th that Minsk had been on the 16th taken by Admiral Tchitchakof, and although he immediately saw all the consequences to the future safety of his army, he still hoped he might be in time to cross the Berezina at Borisof.

Ney did not arrive at Orcha by the right of Dnieper till the 21st, at midnight, with the remains of his corps; but Napoleon had left Orcha in the night of the 20th, having waited there one day in hopes of Ney's junction. The retreat was still continued in the same form, notwithstanding the military disasters and loss of time which had resulted from the use of it. Napoleon heard at Toloczin, on the 22nd, of the loss of Borisof; and that Oudinot had immediately determined to attack the Russian advanced guard, which had been under General Lambert, but which was commanded by General Pahlen since Lambert had been wounded in the attack of Borisof. The Russians had, however, destroyed the bridge on their side of the river, and Oudinot found the localities were of that descrip-

tion that it was impossible to attempt to pass the river at that point.

Napoleon was then in this situation on the 24th November, in the morning. His army, which had been to Moscow, on its march between the Dnieper and the Berezina in one column, of which the head was three marches in front of the rear-guard; and the rear-guard was quitting Orcha upon the Dnieper.

The grand Russian army under Kutusof was upon the Dnieper, Miloradowitch with the advanced guard had crossed that river, and threatened the rear and left of the French army.

The Berezina was in his front and must be crossed. This river is difficult to cross at all times. There are but few places of access to it. There are marshes upon both banks, which as well as the river itself must be passed by roads on which there are bridges; and both might be destroyed with the utmost facility.

The Berezina was occupied by the army of Tchitchakof from Bobruisk to Zembin.

It has been seen that Napoleon had been obliged to withdraw Oudinot from the body of troops opposed to Wittgenstein on the Orcha; and that Oudinot had already cleared his road for him to the Berezina. But the consequence was that Victor was no longer in strength to hold his ground opposite to Wittgenstein. Victor was obliged to follow Oudinot's march with the 9th Corps. Victor was within a march on the 24th of the road on which the main French column was marching; and Wittgenstein attacked his rear-guard. The right of the French army on its retreat, as well as its front, rear and left, was exposed to the enterprises of a superior enemy's army.

Oudinot had been directed to discover a place for the passage of the army over the Berezina; and he by accident and fortunately discovered that there was a passage near the village of Studianka.

He moved there on the 25th from Borisof; and immediately commenced the construction of the bridges for the passage of the army at that place. When Oudinot arrived at Studianka there was still a Russian corps under General Tchaplitz posted on the opposite bank of the Berezina. But this corps had been ordered to move upon Borisof, as the movements, dispositions, and demonstrations of the French had indicated an intention of passing between Borisof and Bobruisk, and even at Borisof rather than above that town.

The admiral, therefore, had been led into error. But General Tchaplitz, from what he had seen on the 25th, left a regiment of infantry and twelve pieces of cannon in a position opposite Studianka.

On the 25th, Wittgenstein moved upon Baran within [1] wersts of Studianka. On the 26th Napoleon arrived with the Guard at Studianka. Oudinot crossed the Berezina upon the bridges; took possession of Zembin and drove away the Russian troops as far as Stachova. On the 27th all the troops crossed the river as fast as they arrived at Studianka. Victor had been the rear-guard at Borisof, and one division of his corps remained as rear-guard at Studianka; while another, that of Partonneau, followed the march of the army and left Borisof on the 27th at night. This division was, however, taken by Wittgenstein.

At length, on the 28th, the Russians ascertained where the French were crossing the Berezina. Tchitchakof attacked them on the right of that river, while Wittgenstein attacked Victor on the left bank at Studianka. Both were repulsed, but with immense loss to the French. On the 28th, at night, Victor crossed the Berezina; and on the 29th, in the morning, the bridges were destroyed; and the French army continued its march upon Zembin towards Wilna. From this time there was nothing in their

[1] Blank in manuscript.

front to impede their movements. They were followed, harassed, etc., by Cossacks, etc., but there was no body of Russian troops which could venture to stand between the army and Loison's and Pino's Italian division, which were still in reserve at Wilna.

WELLINGTON.

THE END.

PRINTED BY WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS.

00021381

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 15 October, 2018